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Vol. IV.

APRIL, 1898.

No. 2.

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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WAS THE POET SEDULIUS AN IRISHMAN?

The nationality of the fifth-century Christian poet known as Sedulius has long been one of the vexed questions in the history of Roman literature. His verse is so genuinely Virgilian, and his feeling and tastes are so purely classical, that to some it has always seemed improbable that he should have first seen the light outside the circle of Roman culture and training. Moreover, his Christianity is so orthodox and his mind so theological, that it has seemed equally improbable that he should have come from an environment at once pagan and barbarian. Hence, the modern historians of Roman and Latin Christian literature, as a rule, reject the opinion, held by many of their predecessors, that Sedulius was an Irishman. The principal reason of this attitude is the accepted weakness of the hypothesis that the poet Sedulius is the same person as the theologian and grammarian Sedulius, who wrote a commentary on the Pauline Epistles, a work that apparently belongs to the ninth century.¹

¹ This is the pedagogue Sedulius Scotus, who flourished about 848-860, at the court of Ludwig II., especially in the schools of Liège and Milan. He was known as commentator of the Scriptures, Greek philologian, scribe, poet, philosopher and educator. Though he lived four centuries after the author of the Carmen Paschale, he is not unlike him in versatility of genius and breadth of culture. Cf. Ludwig Traube, *O Roma Nobilis!* (Munich, 1891, pp. 42-76.) Traube has shown (ib., p. 43) that this Sedulius is the same as the one mentioned by Goldast, and that the latter historian invented the authorship of one Hepidannus for the statement in the Annals of St. Gall (ad annum 818): "Sedulius Scotus clarus habetur," by virtue of which the historians of mediæval literature felt bound to accept a second, but earlier, ninth-century Sedulius. A bishop Sedulius signed the decrees of the Roman Council of 721, where he is put down as "Episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum." Mansi, Coll. Ampliss. Conc., vol. XII. p. 262.

This seems to be the only argument of Ussher.¹ It also formed the opinions of Cellarius, Arntzen, Barth, Vossius, and other editors and students of Sedulius, who hold that he was a native of Scotland. In this they were misled by the later mediæval transposition of the terms *Scotia* and *Scoti* from Ireland to the northern part of the isle of Britain. Arevalo, in his excellent edition of Sedulius, is inclined to the same view, though he suspects the strength of the argument.²

If Trithemius (d. 1516) had given reliable sources for the brief notice of Sedulius in his work "De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis," there might be no longer any reason to doubt this learned tradition, which, after all, boasted until lately of no written authority older than Trithemius himself.³

The mention of a Hildebert as "archbishop of the Irish" in the fifth century is, alone, enough to discredit this statement of Trithemius; indeed it shows that he was laboring under a confusion similar to that of Ussher and his followers.

It is by no means certain that Sedulius was a Roman or even an Italian. The latest and best criticism leaves his origin shrouded in doubt. Manutius says that we know of this most famous of early Christian poets only the few details he himself furnishes in his two letters to his friend and patron, Macedonius. Gaston Boissier⁴ tells us that of the life of Sedulius but little is known,⁵ and Bardenhewer⁶ says that only very imperfect information has reached us as to the life of Sedulius.

¹ De patria sua Sedulius noster dubitare nos non sinit, cum in epistolarum suarum exordio, ut ex Trithemio intelleximus, Sedulum Scottigenam se nuncupet, ejusdemque in epistolas Paulinas annotationes, ex Fuldeni vetustatis adorandae exemplari editas hanc inscriptionem praferant: Sedulii Scotti Hiberniensis in omnes Epistolam Pauli Collectaneum. Britanicae Ecol. Primordia, c. 16.

² Caelii Sedulii Opera Omnia, etc., Romae, 1794, 4°, Migne PL, vol. XIX. "Huic sane sententiae veluti ex communi traditione vigenti libens accedam: sed vellem eam validioribus argumentis posse confirmari," p. 439.

³ "Sedulius presbyter natione Scotus, Hildeberti Scotorum archiepiscopi ab ineunte actate discipulus, vir in divinis Scripturis exercitatus, et in saecularibus litteris eruditissimus, carmine excellens et prosa, amore discendi Scotiam relinquens, venit in Franciam, deinde Italiam perIustravit, et Asiam, postremo Achaias finibus excedens in urbe Roma mirabili doctrina clarus effulxit." According to Sixtus Senensis (Bibl. Sancta, bk. IV) he travelled also through Britain and Spain, and indeed over the whole world, seeking, like another Apollonius of Tyana, the wisdom that ever fled before him.

⁴ Geschichte der Christlich-lateinischen Poesie, Stuttgart, 1891, p. 303.

⁵ Journal des Savants, Sept., 1881, p. 554.

⁶ Patrologie, Freiburg, 1894, p. 421.

It would seem, therefore, that the question is still an open one, and that the opinion of the earlier editors of his works might yet be maintained,—of course with those better arguments that Arevalo desired.

In one of the oldest manuscripts of Sedulius (*Codex Gothanus*, I. 75, of the eighth century) we read that Sedulius, the verse-maker, was at first a layman, and acquired in Italy a knowledge of philosophy. Afterward, while in Achaia, he wrote his books in heroic metre, by the advice of Macedonius and others. This happened in the reign of Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. (423–450). A similar note is found in subsequent manuscripts of Sedulius (e. g. the tenth century *Vat. Ottobonianus*, n. 35).¹

If the scribe thought that Sedulius were an Italian by birth, would it not seem irrelevant to call attention to the fact that he studied philosophy “in Italia”? What more natural than that he should frequent the schools of his native land? It has been suggested that he might have been born a Roman, and acquired his early training at Milan or elsewhere in Italy. To this it may be replied, that this detail of the life of Sedulius has reached us in a manuscript of Anglo-Saxon or Irish origin; hence the stress laid on the studies of Sedulius in Italy is quite natural in the supposition that the birthplace of Sedulius was that of the northern eighth-century scribe of the *Codex Gothanus*. A twelfth-century manuscript (Vatican. Palat. n. 242),² says that our poet was first a “laicus gentilis, sed in Italia philosophiam didicit, dein ad Dominum conversus et a Macedonio baptizatus, in Arcadiam venit, ubi hunc librum composuit.” The antithesis suggested by “gentilis” may as well be between “Barbarian” and “Italian,” as between “Gentile” and “Christian.” In any case the appellation of “gentilis” rather strengthens the view of those who maintain that Sedulius was born in Ireland.

¹ *Incipit ars Sedulii poetae, qui primo laicus in Italia philosophiam didicit, postea cum aliis metrorum generibus heroicum metrum, Macedonio consulente, docuit in Achaia. Libros suos scripsit in tempore imperatorum minoris Theodosii filii Arcadii, et Valentiniani, filii Constantii.* Arevalo, Migne PL., XLVIII., p. 437.

² Arevalo, l. c. p. 436.

Doubtless, the time had not yet come when Ireland was to send forth her sons by thousands, to evangelize the continent, so that the habit of expatriation became a second nature to them.¹ Nevertheless, the relations between Ireland and the continent had been growing more frequent since the time of Agricola,² when that general bore witness to the existence of trade between Ireland and the continent, and to the fact that exiled or discontented chiefs found hospitality in the shadow of the Roman eagles. There is an ancient tradition of the church of Toul, that its first bishop was an Irishman, Mansuetus.³ The story of the Irish King Dathi, and his invasion of the Alpine territory of Rome (428) is well known.⁴ It was a period of constant warfare between the Irish and the Romanized Britons,⁵ when the Britannic Legion was famous for its valiant service against the Irish and the Picts.⁶ We may well believe that before the time of St. Patrick, some "filii Scottorum et filiae regularum"⁷ had been attracted to the continent, members, perhaps, of the few pre-Patrician churches that seem to have existed⁸ in Ireland, or souls like those "Scoti in Christum credentes" of whom Prosper speaks in his Chronicle.⁹

They might be moved, as, in his "Confession," Patrick tells us he was, "by the gift so great and beneficial, to know God and to love Him, to leave country and parents and many gifts." In that trait of the "Confession," where St. Patrick relates the vision of Victoricus coming to him from Ireland,

¹ Walafrid Strabo, "Quibus mos peregrinandi paene in naturam conversa est. Acta ss. Oct. VII. (11), p. 908.

² Agricola, c. 24. "Aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti."

³ Mansuetus, primus Tullensium episcopus, nobili Scotorum genere oriundus. *Acta Tullensis. episcop. ap. Martene et Durand. Thes. Nov. Aneid. III. 991.* Cf. Haddan and Stubbs. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. II, part II, p. 289.

⁴ Cf. *Annals of the Four Masters*, ad an. 428, and *Tribes and Customs of Ua Fiachraich*, pp. 17-27.

⁵ Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

Claudian, *In Cons. Stilich* II. 251-252.

⁶ Quae Scoto dat *fraena truci, ferroque notatas*
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.

Id., De Bello Getico, vv. 417-418.

⁷ *Confessio Sceti Patricii*, Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, II. 309.

⁸ Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, I. c. p. 291.

⁹ Ad an. 431. *Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Coelestino Palladi primus Episcopus mittitur.*

"with innumerable letters" that began with "The Voice of the Irish," may we not see some incipient but general movement of the national spirit towards a wider field of action?

Among the contemporary Christian writers, Caelestius, the follower of Pelagius, seems to have been an Irishman, (if, with Haddan and Stubbs, we are to apply to him the sharp objurations of St. Jerome)¹ and, like Sedulius, to have been attracted by the monastic life: according to Gennadius, he wrote letters to his parents from a monastery.²

It would not, therefore, be *a priori* improbable if, besides the scholarly and eloquent Caelestius, more dreaded for his style and his energy than any other western heretic,³ Ireland should have bestowed upon the early Christian Church her most famous poet in the person of the author of the "Carmen Paschale," and the melodious Christmas hymn, "A Solis Ortus Cardine."

Perhaps, in this christianized treatment of the sun, and in the implicit antithetic reference to Christ as the "princeps" and the "beatus auctor saeculi" that we meet with in the first lines of this hymn, we may recognize a faint index of the nationality of Sedulius. In the Carmen Paschale itself, he refutes at length the worship of the sun, moon and stars.⁴ Now it is well known that the pagan Irish of the early fifth century were the chief sun, moon, and star worshippers of the West, and an ancient tradition, recorded in the Four Masters (ad an. 457), relates how an Irish king, contemporary of Sedulius, was slain by these elements because he had violated an oath taken upon them. St. Patrick himself did not disdain, in one of the few literary fragments of his that have reached

¹ Nec recordatur stolidissimus et Scotorum pulibus prægravatus, etc. Comm. in Jerem. Prolog. (circa 410) . . . Ipseque (diabolus) mutus latrat per Alpinum canem, grandem et corpulentum, et qui calibus magis possit saevire quam dentibus. Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia, etc. Ibid. lib. III. praef.

² De monasterio epistolas in modum libellorum tres, omni Deum desideranti necessarias, parentibus dedisse. Gennad., De script. eccl. c. 44.

³ Cf. Garnier, in Migne P. L. XLVIII. p. 279.

⁴ Ast alli solem, caecatis mentibus acti
Affirmant rerum esse patrem, quia rite videtur
Clara serenata infundere lumina terris
Et totum lustrare polum.

Carmen Paschale I. 248-251.

us, to work over what seems to have been an old Gaelic sun charm, and make of it his famous "Breast-Plate" prayer.¹

More than once, in the two letters to Macedonius that precede the Carmen and its prose rendering, the Opus Paschale, Sedulius refers to the sea, as one who had personal and intimate experience of it. He says (Migne l. c. p. 547), "procellosis adhuc imribus concussae ratis vela madentia tumentis pelagi rursus fatigacioni commisi," speaks of the "longa maris circuitio," and of "portus et littora quae dudum praetereundo lustravi."

In view of the constant mediæval tradition as to his travels, culminating in the sweeping statement of Sixtus Senensis, these phrases are not without some importance.

If we could only know whence came the companions of his stay in Achaia, some light on his origin might come from that source. Is it too bold to see in Ursinus² a Christian bishop attached to the Roman legions in the West, and therefore, perhaps, in contact with the Irish and the Picts, who were among the most troublesome of the barbarians in the last decades of the fourth and the early ones of the fifth century?

In summing up the authorities for the Irish origin of Sedulius, Arevalo, who favors it, says that he could find no trustworthy assertion of it earlier than Trithemius. We are better off than Arevalo, and can offer a witness of the early part of the ninth century,—Dicuil, the Irish scribe and author of a curious little work on geography, entitled "De Mensura Orbis Terrae," "On the Measurement of the Earth." It is a work based on Pliny's Natural History, on Solinus and the imperial survey of Theodosius I.,—the latter work known to us only

¹ Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, l. c. p. 330, *The Lorica of St. Patrick (Patricii Canticum Scotticum)*. I cite the following strophe:

I bind to myself to-day
The power of Heaven,
The light of the Sun,
The whiteness of Snow,
The force of Fire,
The flashing of Lightning,
The velocity of Wind,
The depth of the Sea,
The stability of the Earth,
The hardness of Rocks.

² "Habes antistitem plenum reverentiae sacerdotalis Ursinum, qui ab aetatis sua primae-vae *tirocinio* regis aeterni *castra* non deserens *vixit inter barbaros pius, inter bella pacatus*," Migne l. c., p. 540.

through the book of Dicuil.¹ This writer, certainly an Irishman, and probably a scribe of Clonmacnoise, furnishes the only original geographical work of the Latin Middle Ages. In commenting on the famous twelve lines that describe the plan of the general survey ordered by Theodosius, he calls attention to certain apparently faulty verses, and remarks that the seeming error has for it the authority of Virgil, "whom in such cases *our Sedulius* imitated."² Traube³ will have it that *noster* here means "Christian" in opposition to the "Pagan" Virgil. Dümmler had already (*Neues Archiv.* IV. 316) shown that the Sedulius referred to could be no other than the Christian poet, though Teuffel was of the opinion that the *noster* indicated the grammarian Sedulius, contemporary and friend of Dicuil.⁴

But elsewhere Dicuil (p. 44) speaks of "heremitae ex nostra Scotia," and the reference to the *versus heroici* of Sedulius makes it certain that Dicuil had before him the tradition that is consigned in a contemporary (ninth century) manuscript⁵ (*Gothanus I.* 75), and which we have already mentioned (p. 157).

There can, then, be no reasonable doubt that Dicuil believed the poet to have been of his own race, and that he was proud of the fact, for at the first mention of Virgil the memory of Sedulius, this "Maro mutatus in melius," comes back to him, as well as his astounding masterpiece in hexameter,—the "Carmen Paschale" or metrical paraphrase of the four gospels.

Dicuil is believed to have been very old when he wrote these lines in 825, and as he was formed in the schools of Ireland, he represents an untroubled domestic tradition,—a learned tradition of scribes and pedagogues,—that goes back easily to the best days of the early Irish Church, those previous to the inroads of the Danes. The national piety of the Irish was already proverbial (*Bede, H. E. III.*, 25), and their devotion

¹ Wattenbach, *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen*, 4th ed., 1877, I. 125. Bellesheim, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland*. Mainz, 1890, I. 291.

² Non imperitia (egit?), sed auctoritate aliorum poetarum et maxime Virgilii, quem in talibus causis *noster* simulavit *Sedulius*, qui in *heroicis carminibus* raro pedes alienos ab illis posuerunt. *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, ed. Parthey, Berlin, 1870, p. 20.

³ *O Roma Nobilis!* p. 44.

⁴ *Geschichte der roemischen Literatur*, 1870, § 443, 8, p. 986.

⁵ Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia*, recensuit et commentario critico instruxit Johannes Huemer. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latin.*, vol. X, Vienna, 1885, p. viii.

to the Latin classics notorious. It is not wonderful therefore that one of their schoolmasters should have recalled to the poetasters of the Carlovingian time that the Christian Virgil was "Scottigena." Moreover, Dicuil was one of the teachers who created the Carlovingian renaissance, and his statement was likely, if false, to meet severe criticism from the Frankish savants at the court who made great use of the writings of Sedulius, as Huemer has shown (l. c. pp. 361-371). That the Frankish savants were jealous of men like Dicuil, may be seen from the subjoined verses. They come from the pen of no less a man than Dicuil's contemporary, the bishop Theodulf of Orleans.¹

A comparison of style between the poet Sedulius and other Irish Christian writers, is, of course, out of the question. When, later, the Irish learned to write good Latin, it was in another world that they moved and thought. But perhaps it is not out of place to call attention to the tendency of his prose, so different from his admirable verse. Already this prose foreshadows the bombastic "Hisperica Famina," that Zimmer has located within a hundred years or less of the death of Sedulius.² The "horridula epistula," as Cellarius calls the dedication of the "Carmen Paschale" to Macedonius, is written quite in the turgid and affected style of the "Scottigenum Eulogium" or euphuistic Latin of the Cymro-Irish monasteries of the sixth century.

Is it possible that Sedulius followed for a while the practice of law, and that Paschasius Radbertus was right when he called him "Rhetor Romanae Ecclesiae?" His countryman and contemporary, Caelestius, was "auditorialis scholasticus," that is, an advocate. He was also of noble birth, and possessed an "incredibilis loquacitas," as the historians of Pelagianism tell us.³ Sedulius, in the dedication of his

¹ Stet Scotellus ibi, res sine lege furens,
Res dira, hostis atrox, hebes horror, pestis acerba,
Litigiosa lues, res fera, grande nefas,

Theodulfi Carmina, III. Migne CV. 316.

² Nennius Vindicatus, Berlin, 1863, pp. 292-340.

³ Marius Mercator, Praef. in libr. subnotat, in verba Juliani, n. 4. Migne XLVIII. p. 114.

"Opus Paschale" to Macedonius, recalls the fact that the author of the Codex Hermogenianus made three editions of his work before he was satisfied.¹ It is not impossible, therefore, that he followed at Rome the only lucrative profession that hard study then led up to, viz., the law, and that thereby he acquired his displeasing decadent style in prose, whereas, by diligent study of Virgil, he acquired no little of that master's musical sweetness as well as the smooth flow of language that distinguished the Mantuan.² Perhaps, too, he brought to the poet's task the native Irish skill in intricate metre, and a certain grave amplitude and picturesqueness that are never absent from his pages, and are seen in distinctive Irish texts not too remote from him. The hymn "A Solis Ortus Cardine" is an alphabetic hymn, i. e., each strophe begins with a letter of the alphabet. It may be worth noting that the contemporary hymn of St. Secundinus on St. Patrick, "Audite Omnes,"³ is also an alphabetic hymn, and that it, too, rests on the number of syllables and on the accent, though it has no rhymes, and is written in a semi-barbarous Latin.

The oldest and best manuscripts of Sedulius are intimately connected with the Irish monasteries on the Continent.⁴ The Codex Ambrosianus and the Codex Taurinensis, both of the latter half of the seventh century, were originally the property of the Irish monastery of Bobbio, and have each the well-known mark, "Liber sci Columbani de bobio."

The Codex Gothanus (I. 75) of the eighth century is written in an Anglo-Saxon hand,⁵ and the Basiliensis of the same

¹ Cognoscant Hermogenianum doctissimum jurislatorem tres editiones sui operis confecisse. Migne, l. c. p. 547.

² "Never in any land had learning such an explosive power as upon the Irish. Elsewhere it merely gave limited impulses. Here, no sooner had scholars trained themselves in academic studies than all the old adventurous spirit of the nation revived, and, ignoring minor ambitions, they swarmed off, like bees from a full hive, carrying with them the honey of knowledge and the ability to create other centres that should be celebrated for all time." Sigerson, Irish Literature, *Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1892, p. 513.

³ Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*. Rolls Series, II. 386.

⁴ Cf. Huemer, l. c. preface pp. IV-XIII.

⁵ Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon handwriting were often really copied by Irishmen, from whom chiefly the Anglo-Saxons learned to write. Cf. Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur Lateinischen Paläographie*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 32. "Auch die gewöhnliche Schrift lernten die Angelsachsen von den Iren, doch hat auch die Halbuncialschrift darauf eingewirkt, und es gibt innerhalb dieser angelsächsischen Schrift bedeutende Varietäten welche bald der irischen

century seems to have reached Switzerland from the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, an indication that it was brought thither by Irish monks. The ninth-century Codex Karoliruhensis belonged originally to the Irish monastery of Reichenau (Angiensis) and the Codex Turicensis belonged, likewise, to the Irish monastery of St. Gall. Is it a mere chance that the oldest and best manuscripts have an Irish habitat, or that some should in all probability have been copied in Ireland, like those of Bobbio, that others should have belonged to the oldest Irish monasteries on the mainland, while still others should be in the writing of the first disciples of the Irish, or wander along the well-known missionary road that led from Ireland by Tours to Switzerland and the upper Rhine? Add to this that during the period of the Carlovingian renaissance we find in the Irish teachers and writers the most copious use of Sedulius. The passages may be seen in Huemer's edition of the poet's works (pp. 361-371). Cruindmel, Hibernicus Exul, and Dungal have a fondness for him that is equalled or surpassed only by the Anglo-Saxons Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface, and Alcuin, or by Godescalc, the intimate friend of the ninth-century Irish school of Liège, and of that other Sedulius, whose life and works have been so well illustrated by Duemmler¹ and Traube (l. c.) Nor would the Irish geographer Dicuil have spoken so securely of the poet as an Irishman in the presence of so many admirers and students of his works, unless it had been the commonly received opinion.

Is it not remarkable that the peculiar Irish rhyme of the Sedulian distich-hymn *Cantemus* should have been imitated in the early middle ages by Irishmen only? The proof of it is in some letters of the Irish colony at Liège, published by Duemmler,² in two of which we have the perfect Sedulian refrain.³ Sedulius Scottus also frequently used this rhyme.

näher stehen, bald sich weiter entfernen und überwiegend einen mehr rundlichen Charakter haben. Oft ist die Herkunft zweifelhaft und auch der Name *Scriptura Scotica* umfasst beides."

Camden says somewhere: "Anglo-Saxones ab Hibernis rationem formandi literas accipisse, cum initio eodem plane charactere usi fuerint qui hodie Hibernis est in usu," O'Conor, Rerum Hibernic. Scriptores, I. exlv.

¹ Mon. Germ., Poetae Carolini, III.

² Neues Archiv. f. alt. d. Ges. - hichte XIII. 362.

³ Sumite Scottigenam devota mente benigni
O vos Francigene, sumite Scottigenam.

Omnia Christus habet, per Christum cuncta reguntur.
Mentior haud vobis, Omnia Christus habet.
Cf. Bellesheim, l. c. p. 291.

Sedulius was the first Latin poet who systematically introduced rhyme as an intentional element in the art of word-painting.¹ With him begin to appear the numerous musical sound-echoes or rhymes which the Irish had long before worked into a most intricate system.² Ebert says that the most varied rhymes are to be found in the famous Christmas hymn of Sedulius (*A Solis Ortus Cardine*), and Dr. Sigerson is of opinion that the influence of this hymn, with its interwoven echoes, was great "in educating the ear and popularizing rhyme over Christendom." He is of opinion that "in his great poem (*the Carmen Paschale*) Sedulius impresses certain marked Irish peculiarities upon the classic hexameter. The influence," he adds, "of this remarkable epic, read as it was in all the Irish schools in the Continent and in Britain, must have been immense. The systematic adoption by its author of rhyme, assonant and consonant, and of alliteration, must have moulded the forms of subsequent literary production in all the nascent languages of Europe, North and South, as it taught them the art of alliteration, of assonant and consonant rhymes."³

¹ Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlaude, Leipzig, 1889. I. 381.

² Douglas Hyde. History of Gaelic Literature.

³ "Of all the literary possessions of the human race the wide world over, nothing now seems to us so constant, so universal, so eternal as rhyme. Now the fact is that rhyme was quite unknown to all the dialects of Europe, with one exception, for some centuries after the Christian era. The Greeks and Romans wrote much poetry but never rhymed it. Their metrical system was elaborate, satisfactory and pleasing, but it did not recognize the concordant chime of syllables. Again, there is no recognition of rhyme, as the term is now understood, in any of the Gothic dialects previous to the ninth century. The alliteration found in 'Beowulf' the first Anglo-Saxon epic, A. D. 750, centuries later than Sedulius, seems a rather crude imitation. Rhyme was introduced into High German a century later, and this was achieved by Offried, who had acquired the gift in that monastery of St. Gall, to which the illustrious Irishman bequeathed his name, his spirit, and his scholarship. There can be no doubt that all the European races, spread as they now are over the world, are indebted for this great gift, which has quickened, delighted, elevated and ennobled them for ages, to the Celts, and demonstrably to the ancient Irish." *Contemporary Review*. Irish Literature, Oct., 1892, pp. 511-520. Aldhelm, the first of the Anglo-Saxons to write in Latin metre, writes an alliterative euphuistic prose, very "precious" and pedantic. He also composed glee or popular songs, rhymed no doubt, since one of them—a *carmen triviale*, some vain heathen tale—was still sung in England in the twelfth century, according to William of Malmesbury. Now, Aldhelm was the pupil and the successor of Maelduf, the Irish hermit, who taught a school and set up a small basilica at Malmesbury, before the middle of the seventh century. "Aldhelm is the first Englishman whose literary writings remain to us, and whose classical knowledge was famous" (Stopford Brooke, History of Early English Literature, p. 239). His work on the Praise of Virginity is, curiously enough, written both in Latin verse and prose, like the Gospel paraphrase of Sedulius, whom he frequently copies or imitates. Here is a decided Irish influence at the very root of the literary history of England. Its formative and directive effect can scarcely be too highly rated, since primitive or original impressions are ineffaceable. For other literary influences of monastic Ireland on the contemporary Angles and Saxons, see Brooke, *ibid.*, pp. 254-279.

It is not claimed for the foregoing considerations that they prove Sedulius to have been an Irishman. But, in the absence of any positive knowledge as to the place of his origin, they deserve attention, for they show that at a very early date he was claimed by Irish scholars as one of their nation, that the Irish scribes and their English disciples copied and read his writings with especial pleasure, and that through him certain distinctive traits of Irish literature were grafted upon the Latin. This is certainly enough to show that the tradition of his Irish origin is far older than Trithemius, and goes back to the crepuscular hour of Roman literature, to the eighth and ninth centuries, when the old classic life was yet the normal ideal of existence, and the reminiscences of its literary glories were not yet extinguished. Perhaps, if we ever discover that "complete copy of Gennadius" that Sirmond had in his hands¹ we may hear such final evidence from a contemporary as will remove this problem from the list of the unsolved questions of patrology.²

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

¹ *Integrum Gennadii exemplar.* Arevalo, Migne, l. c., p. 436.

² Besides the editions of Sedulius already referred to by Arevalo and Huemer the curious reader may consult that of Loosborns, Munich, 1879, and of Hurter, *Opuscula Patrum selecta*, v. XVIII. Among the latest writers on Sedulius are J. Huemer, *De Sedulii poetae vita et scriptis commentatio*, Vienna, 1878; C. Leimbach, *Caecilius Sedulius und sein Carmen Paschale*, Goslar, 1879; E. Boissier, *Le Carmen Paschale et l'Opus Paschale de Sedulius*, *Revue de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 1882, pp. 28-36.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN SCRIPTURE.

The importance of acquiring a proper notion of Sacred Scripture needs no elaborate demonstration. The theological atmosphere is full of the discussion of this subject. It is, no doubt, the problem of the age. It is the living, burning question of the day. In fact, there never was so much interest manifested in this subject at any other period in the history of the Church, as at the present time. If it ever was right to ignore it in the past, it can now be ignored no longer. This question will never again be confined exclusively to metaphysicians and theologians. It is no longer discussed in obscure tomes and inaccessible folio volumes, bound in hog-skin, fastened with huge bronze clasps, and put away on the top shelves of some great library, where they can do no harm. For, as any one can see for himself, every variety of contemporary literature, scientific reviews, popular magazines, religious weeklies, and even the secular press of the day, are teeming with the discussion of the subject, and ventilating the attitude of the world of thought towards the Bible, especially its Inspiration.

In all the controversies that took place between Catholics and non-Catholics during the last three or four centuries, the divine authority of the Scriptures was admitted by both parties to the controversy as a preamble, as a standard and rule of faith and morals. Scripture was the measure of truth. But it is so no longer. For now the measure must itself be measured, and measured by other standards. The question used to be, "What does Paul say"? "What does the Bible teach"? Now the question is, "Did Paul ever write those words"? "And, even if he did, did Paul know what he was talking about"? Or we are met by this other question, "What is the Bible"? "Is the Bible the word of man"? "Is the Bible the word of God"? "How far is it human"? "How far is it divine"?

We shall see that, in character and authority, the Bible is both human and divine. Reserving the divinity of the Scripture for future discussion, we shall, for the present, confine ourselves to the consideration of the *human element* in it, not so much for its own sake, as for the purpose of having a basis for the further discussion of the more important subject of Inspiration.

A book may be human, (I.) because of its contents, or (II.) because of its author. Now, Scripture is human in both senses.

I. HUMAN CONTENTS OF SCRIPTURE.

A book of Scripture may be human on account of the nature of the topics which it contains, on account of the subject-matter which it handles, a considerable portion of which may be distinctively human. Perhaps a greater quantity and a greater variety of materials can be found in the Bible than is contained within the same compass in any other book. As to the character of these materials no more erroneous opinion could be entertained than to imagine that it was all directly and supernaturally revealed from Heaven; for, while much of it is confessedly divine, much more of it is quite human in origin and character. This, of course, is to be expected in a book that contains the history of the establishment of a divine economy among men and for men.

Written for the purpose of influencing the conduct of men, the truths of the Bible are often addressed to the understanding and to the will only indirectly, through the imagination. Imagination itself is reached chiefly through the concrete incidents of History and Biography, which are frequently presented very dramatically in the Bible. If religious truths were taught in the Bible, as Dogmas are taught in a treatise on Speculative Theology, or as Morals are taught in a systematic treatise on Ethics, or as Science is taught in a dry-as-dust nineteenth century text-book, where everything is expressed in the most general terms of abstract philosophy, and arranged as artificially as curiosities in a cabinet or in a museum, instead of being scattered about, as they are in the Bible, without any conceivable order, whether logical, chronological,

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or ontological, like objects in nature, like flowers in a forest, and mixed up with facts of history, just as they occurred in the experience of real living men and women, they never would have been understood by the bulk of mankind, who have only average intelligence, and never would have exercised one tithe of the influence which they have exercised on the life and conduct of all civilized nations.

It is, therefore, to this human element in Scripture that we are indebted for the peculiar charm of so many beautiful sketches of life and manners among the early Hebrews, in which the facts of history are so happily blended with moral lessons, as in the story of Ruth. To the same element we are indebted for the fact that so many religious truths are easily understood and forever remembered, simply or chiefly because of their association with the names of so many celebrated heroes and heroines of those olden times, as, for instance, the virtue of patience is taught in the history of Job. To the same element we are indebted for the concrete setting which adds so much grace and beauty to the narratives in the life of Christ, and for at least a partial explanation of the marvellous influence exercised in all ages by the parables of Our Lord in the Gospels.

It is also the facts of history and biography which, like nursery tales, appeal so strongly to the imagination especially of the young, and which explain why it is that they will listen with such delight, for instance, to the story of Daniel in the lion's den at Babylon ; of the boy Joseph sold by his heartless brothers to the nomads of the desert ; of the youthful Samuel responding promptly to the call of God in the dead of night as he lay on his couch in the Temple at Shiloh ; or of baby Moses, the future legislator, wailing in his lonely basket-cradle among the bulrushes on the banks of the Nile.

The same is true even of those parts of Scripture, which, at first sight, would seem to be so exclusively historical or scientific as to preclude all idea of religion, as, for instance, the History of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis. For, whatever interpretation we may give to this chapter, apparently historical and geological in character, one thing is certain, there have

have been incorporated into it some of the most fundamental truths of religion. The cosmogony of this opening chapter of Genesis and of the whole Bible is absolutely unique. It stands alone in its glory, incomparably superior to all other Histories of Creation. One remarkable peculiarity of this narrative is that it represents God as standing out in sublimity, majesty, and solitary grandeur above all else, and teaches the most spiritual religion imaginable. Hence, whatever else it may be, this splendid exordium of Genesis is a religious composition. It is a primeval hymn. It is the inspired song of Creation. It contains a rendering of praise to the Creator, expressed in the sublimest language. It contains the most profound theology and must have been placed at the head of the Book, to teach the early Hebrews the most essential truths of natural and of supernatural religion. By implication, it teaches the Existence of God, because it is He who created. It teaches the Eternity of God, because He was before the things were which He created with time. It teaches the Spirituality of God, because He created the first matter. It teaches the Omnipotence of God, because He created all things out of nothing. It teaches the Liberty or Free Will of God, because He inaugurated a new order of things. It teaches the Wisdom of God, because He brought order out of Chaos. It teaches the Infinity of God, because it represents Him as existing beyond all limitations of time and space. In one word, this exordium is a composition so exquisite in its structure, so noble in its simplicity, so wondrous in its sublimity, so sound in its Philosophy, so spiritual in its Theology, and so pure in its conception of God and in its notions of the relations of man to God, and to his fellow men, and to the material universe, that it must have been inspired, not so much for the purpose of teaching the sciences of History or Cosmogony, as for the purpose of inculcating the doctrines of the purest Monotheism on a people surrounded by heathen neighbors and in danger of being influenced by the doctrines and practices of heathenism.

Such, then, being the purpose for which Scripture was written, we may be prepared to find mentioned in it almost every conceivable variety of human thought and action. Ac-

cordingly, we read there of the rise and progress of some of the great nations of antiquity, of the various vicissitudes through which they passed, and of the causes that led to their gradual decline and final downfall. We there learn what were their natural products, their military and other resources, their manners and customs, their greed for territory, their insatiable ambition for conquest, their political intrigues and their debasing superstitions.

In thus casting rapid side glances at the most interesting contemporary events of ancient history, and touching upon topics of a worldly interest to their immediate readers, the sacred writers may presumably have ventured upon many a statement about topics that had little or no direct bearing upon religious matters. At the same time, such facts and such reflections as they offer must have been of intense interest to the early Hebrew readers of these books, as containing fragments of history of a personal, local or national character, which, even at this late date, are admitted to be of importance as throwing much needed light on the else forgotten history of many interesting nations of antiquity.

It is probable that nowhere outside of Shakespeare can be found such an endless variety of human characters as in the Bible. The sacred writers furnish us with life-sized portraits of some of the noblest, as well as some of the basest men that ever lived. But the features of even the best of them are sketched with such fidelity, that sunlight and shadow are forever flitting across the view. Thus, for instance, in the Old Testament, we have a detailed and perfectly impartial account of Abraham's prevarication, as well as of his faith ; of Jacob's occasional deceit, as well as of his piety ; of David's adultery, as well as of his deep devotion ; of Solomon's idolatry, as well as of his wisdom ; and of the matrimonial complications and domestic infelicities occurring in the household of some of the ancient patriarchs, as well as of their constant attachment to the worship of God in the midst of their heathen neighbors. With the same fidelity to truth we are told that Moses occasionally displayed temper, in spite of his proverbial meekness ; that Jeremiah, though gentle, was at times querulous ; and that Jonah, though he prophesied, was sometimes

recalcitrant. In one word, we learn from Scripture that the history of the chosen people was one long series of backslidings, and subsequent repentance and purpose of amendment.

In the New Testament also, we read of Peter's profession of faith in Christ and his subsequent denial ; of his dissimulation at Antioch and his subsequent repentance ; of the sharp contention between Peter and Paul, and between Paul and Barnabas ; of the unbelief of Thomas ; of the treachery of Judas ; of the enmity of the High Priests ; of the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees ; and of the cruelty of Herod. Sometimes, too, especially in the Old Testament, the writers of Scripture chronicle scenes of barbarity almost unparalleled in the pages of history, and give instances of the most shocking crimes, and of the most debasing superstitions, practiced not only by the neighboring heathen nations, but also by some members of the chosen people.

As an illustration of how the sacred writers take cognizance of matters of human interest, good, bad, or indifferent, it may suffice to read Isaiah, (III., 15-25) where the Prophet, with a richness of vocabulary worthy of Shakespeare and wonderful for an age when dictionaries were not yet written, describes the wealth of jewelry and the variety of millinery worn in those days by "The haughty daughters of Sion, who made a tinkling with their feet and moved in a set pace. In that day the Lord will take away the ornament of their anklets and the cauls, and the little moons, and the pendant chains, and the bracelets, and the necklaces, and the mufflers, and the bodkins, and the headgears, and the anklechains, and the tablets, and the perfume boxes, and the amulets, and the rings, and the jewels hanging from the forehead, and the changes of apparel, and the mantles, and the shawls, and the crisping pins, and the hand looking-glasses, and the lawns, and the turbans, and the fine veils, etc."

Mention is also made of almost every variety of occupation known in those days ; the housewife at the handmill grinding the corn ; the taxgatherer at his counting table ; the shepherd wandering with his flock over the hillsides of Judea in search of pasture ; the husbandman engaged in the culti-

vation of the fields, and caring for the vineyard and olive orchard ; the fisherman mending his net, and the buyers and sellers trading in the market place or in the temple. To these topics, which are distinctively human, should be added the mention of things belonging to the physical order, to the material universe. In language often poetical and sometimes truly sublime, the inspired writers describe the regular succession of the seasons, the alternation of day and night, sowing time and the harvest, and the bounty of nature in providing for man and beast. They mention the dry land and the deep sea ; the fountains and the rivers ; the mountains and the plains ; the rainbow and the flood ; the bursting of the storm and the gentle rain ; the flash of lightning and the peal of thunder ; the brilliancy of the morning star and the rich glow of the setting sun ; "the lily of the valley and the rose of Sharon"; Mount Carmel and Mount Lebanon in their glory ; armies and the ships that go out to sea ; the siege and the battle ; the pillage of towns and the sack of cities ; the lion and the dragon ; the beast and the eagle ; the "sparrow that sells for a farthing" and the "hen that gathereth her chickens under her wing;" "the birds of the air that sow not neither do they reap" and the "lily of the fields that is clothed in more than Solomonic splendor."

To understand how such human topics and even secular matters can be mentioned in the Word of God it is sufficient to consider that a deed done by man alone is a human deed, because it proceeds from a human source or principle; and that it will forever remain a human deed, because it will remain forever true, that it was done by man alone. "Factum infectum fieri nequit." At the same time it is manifest that the *written record* of such a fact may proceed from a divine source and principle, and consequently may be a divine or Inspired record. It is equally certain that, for a book to be Scripture, it is necessary that the act of writing it should come from God, even though the things therein related to have been said or done should have been said or done originally by man alone, and thus be human in character. We also see that Scripture often relates the words and deeds of non-inspired men and other natural objects, narratively, and without always

making itself responsible for the accuracy of the expression of opinion or for the account of the deeds done. All this, because in Scripture an obvious distinction is to be maintained between what is positively *taught*, and, therefore, to be accepted, and what is merely *talked about* or only mentioned as a topic, so to speak, of conversation and then dropped.

This, too, explains how it is that not only human topics in general may be touched upon in Scripture, but things inhuman and even diabolical in character, including the most shameful crimes, and the most barefaced lies, and the most grovelling superstitions, and the most degrading vices, and the most cruel and disgraceful forms of idolatry, all of which may be mentioned in Scripture, but mentioned only to be condemned and repudiated.

This position is so nearly self-evident that it is difficult to make it plainer than the simple statement. Yet it has been so often forgotten and so strangely overlooked that it may be necessary to call attention to the distinction. The Bible represents men good and bad, and angels white and black, and even Satan himself as speaking and acting, each according to the laws of his own nature. We know that Scripture is inspired as a faithful *record* of these things, but it records them only for what they are worth. It records them as the opinions, the sayings, and the doings of those to whom they are ascribed, and not as the opinions, the sayings, and the doings of God, unless, of course, it is stated or in some way intimated that God approves them, adopts them, or in some way makes them His own.

As samples of such things, more or less good or more or less true, we find numerous detached fragments of literature scattered up and down the Bible, which were manifestly of secular character and of human origin, though subsequently copied out into Scriptures under the influence of Inspiration. As instances, we might mention the poetry of Lamach, the Song of the Well, the words of the Epicureans in the Sapiential Books of the Old Testament, the false reasonings of the Scribes and Pharisees, of Herod and Pilate, and of the mob in the Gospels, the diplomatic correspondence that took place between the Jews and the Lacedemonians, and

between the Jews and the Romans, the proclamation of Nabuchodonosor, the edict of Cyrus, and the mention of the decree of Cæsar Augustus that "all the world should be enrolled." We also find quoted in the Acts of the Apostles a copy of the celebrated letter of Claudius Lysias to the Roman governor Felix, and a report of the deceitful speech of the orator Tertullus, both remarkable for their skill in putting things adroitly, for making the worse appear the better cause, and for their quiet assumption of things which, no doubt, are false.

Especially in the Book of Job we find a prolonged discussion on the problem of the existence of evil in the world and on the deep mystery of God's providential government of man. The discussion takes place between Job, on the one hand, and, on the other, his three friends Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, who had come to console him, and consists principally of three cycles of speeches, six speeches in each cycle. The discourses of the three friends, it is distinctly stated, contain their views of the problem. But it is evident to any attentive reader that Job's friends, in their long speeches, uttered many a foolish and absurd statement, for which neither the Holy Ghost nor the human writer of Scripture would make himself responsible. In fact, toward the end of the book, their sentiments are clearly and expressly condemned, by God Himself whose wrath is kindled against them, for we read: "The Lord said to Eliphaz, the Temanite, 'My wrath is kindled against thee and against thy two friends; for ye have not spoken of Me the thing that is right, as my friend Job hath spoken.'" (Job XLII. 7.) Evidently their opinions were set up, like so many tenpins, for Job to knock down again. Since this is so clear on the very surface of the book, it is difficult to conceive how the foolish utterances of Job's friends have so often been quoted, recited, appealed to, and preached upon in the past by all sorts of sermonizers, as if they contained God's infallible word, in utter disregard of common sense and in spite of the rejection of them in plain language by God Himself.

In all such cases we should carefully distinguish between the historical and the objective truthfulness of such quotations. Quotations are always historically true, if they are true as

quotations, or if it is a fact that such persons said such things and under such circumstances, even though their statements, as contained in the quotations, are in themselves false. In other words: It is (historically) true that such things were said, but the things said are not (objectively) true. Whoever merely cites another is responsible for the citation as a citation, is responsible merely for its conformity with the original, is responsible for the accuracy with which the words of the one quoted are reproduced. In other words, he is responsible for the *form* but not for the *contents* of the quotation; for, very often, Scripture truthfully records such things as samples of the lies of those who first uttered them.

II. HUMAN AUTHOR OF SCRIPTURE.

Every book of the Bible is human on account of its origin or source; on account of the nature of the act by which the book, so far as it is a written document, was produced; on account of one of the agencies by which the book was composed. The Bible is not exclusively a divine book; it is also human. It is the joint product of two agencies, the one human, the other divine. It is the result of the combined operations of two concurrent causes, harmoniously operating and coöperating in the production of the book. The Bible is the result, of which God and man are the concurrent causes. However, we should be careful not to imagine that it is the concurrence of two co-equal causes, but rather of a superior and an inferior. It is an instance of operation on the part of God, and of coöperation on the part of man, the operation and the coöperation going hand in hand and making themselves everywhere felt in the act of producing the books. At the same time the concurrence is of such a nature, that God is the controlling power, the principal cause, while man is the subordinate cause, the instrumental agency, the secondary author, of the books.

Thus a veritable human agency was exercised in the act of producing Scripture; a veritable human effort was put forth and a human influence made itself felt at the very moment of composing the books. Thus, the thoughts expressed in Scripture, whether they refer to Human or to Divine things,

were written with the assistance of a human intellect, and with the consent of a human will, and with the resources of a human memory, and were colored by the creative faculties of the human imagination. The thoughts percolated through a human brain ; they made a human heart pulsate ; they made human nerves vibrate ; they made a human mind operate ; and they ran off from the fingers of a human hand on to the pages of the inspired book in the very moment of its production. It was also a human hand that held and guided the pen and that wrote the words ; and the words, when written, were human words, belonging to some language spoken by men, and are to be interpreted in accordance also with the general principles of rational Hermeneutics. The consequence and the manifest advantage of all this is that, while "the Bible is authoritative because it is the voice of God, it is intelligible because it is written in the language of men."

The Bible is authoritative also as being the word of man. For, surely, Moses and David, Paul and John, considered as mere men, ought to possess as much authority as Herodotus and Xenophon, or as Livy and Tacitus, or as Prescott and Macaulay. As is well known, Inspiration is what Theologians call a "*gratia gratis data*," and, like all such graces, it does not destroy the human authority of the inspired authors. On the contrary, instead of absorbing or paralyzing their mental faculties, it rather, through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, guarantees, preserves, heightens and intensifies all the powers of their soul and gives to their statements the highest possible grade of human authority. Accordingly, the Bible, which they have written, is distinguished from all the other religious books of the world by its objective and distinctively historical character ; and, as an historical work, as a mere literary monument, it has challenged and has successfully stood the most thorough investigation and the most searching discussion of its contents. All it asks is that it be examined in conformity with the principles of sound historical criticism and that these principles be impartially applied.

To have a clear idea of this subject, we should remember what is meant by saying that a book is authoritative. A book is said to be authoritative (which means the same as reli-

able, credible, trustworthy), when its contents are of such a character or are so authenticated, as to be entitled to credence, as to deserve acceptance, as to demand the assent of the intellect to its statements, whether of fact or of opinion. The authority of a book depends, therefore, on the reputation for truthfulness of its reputed author. And naturally; for an author is a witness; and a witness, to be reliable, should have the requisite qualities of every competent witness. Now, these requisites are (1) a knowledge of the truth, and (2) a sincere desire to impart such knowledge to others.

However, the knowledge required in a witness is not necessarily erudition or learning, or scientific acquirements, but simply an acquaintance with the facts in the case, if the book is historical, or with the opinions enunciated, if the book is doctrinal or didactic in character. It, therefore, follows that a very ignorant man may be a very good witness, provided he have his eyes and his ears open to what is going on around him; and, as is equally clear, a very learned man may be a very useless witness if he is so lost in contemplation or abstract metaphysical speculation as to be unconscious of lesser, though nearer, realities.

Now, the sacred writers possessed, in an eminent degree, these necessary qualifications. As to the second requisite, it must be evident that they had the purpose of telling the truth; for this purpose is easily discernible on every page of Scripture. We cannot conceive of anything so devoid of reason as to imagine for a moment that, for instance, the four Evangelists did not have the intention of relating facts, just as manifestly as had Tacitus or Xenophon; and that they are not poets as Virgil and Milton. As to the first requisite, it can be proved, and has been often proved, that the writers of the Bible possessed the best possible means of knowing the truth of what they relate, whether it regards historical facts or doctrinal opinions. But, as a detailed and exhaustive discussion of all the data which we possess on this subject would fill whole volumes, we would be obliged to omit it, even if it were in order to give it more than a passing glance.

Since many of the writers of the Bible were contemporary with the events which they relate, and since others were even

eye-witnesses, they must necessarily have been familiar with the facts which they relate. As to the other writers, they could have obtained their information from perfectly reliable sources,—from verbal testimony, from ancient monuments, from public archives, from journals, from private memoranda, from family registers, from national records, from ancient traditions. Sometimes these writers, in order to corroborate what they relate, go so far as to give us their sources of information. Joshua and Samuel expressly quote the "Book of the Just," which seems to have been an ancient anthology or collection of religious or national songs current in those early days. (Josh. X., 13; II. Kings, I., 18.) Frequent reference is also made to the writings of Nathan, Abijaiah, Iddo, Jehu, and especially to the "Book of the Days of the Kings of Judah and Israel," and to the "Book of the Wars of the Lord," none of which are known to have been in existence for thousands of years. Nor should there be any valid objection to this; for it cannot, in the mind of any reflecting person, in any way reflect unfavorably on the reputation of the Bible for reliability, to learn that the materials of which it is in great part composed have been derived, not always by direct revelation from Heaven, but from human sources, provided, of course, those sources can be proved to be in every way trustworthy, or at least, provided it cannot be proved that they are not trustworthy.

When the Bible, for the first time, falls into the hands of an intelligent and educated man, who wishes to proceed correctly in his investigations after the truth, it might be premature for him, at this early stage of his inquiries, to attach too much importance to the claims made for the Bible that it is the Word of God. It would be more in accordance with the rules of logic and historical criticism to show first that the Bible is the word of man and that, as such, it is a reliable source of information. Under these circumstances it would be fair for such a person to inquire whether the Biblical books are credible as historical documents and trustworthy vehicles of information, independently of their divine inspiration; and to determine whether they would be accepted as evidence, even if they were not also the Inspired Word of God. There need be

no hesitation in saying that, if he prosecutes his investigations according to the right methods, he will soon be convinced that, considered merely as human documents, the books of the Scripture are among the best authenticated documents of antiquity and that, after being subjected to the most critical investigation, their credibility has been placed beyond dispute. For the human authority of Scripture may be demonstrated scientifically by means of arguments drawn, not from Scripture itself nor from the tradition of the Church, which is divine and theological, but from sources quite independent of anything supernatural, that is, by mere historical tradition; just as the reliability of all other ancient documents is established. In other words, the human authority of Scripture can be rigorously demonstrated independently of the claims of the Bible to be divinely inspired and independently of the claims of the Church to be the authoritative interpreter of the Bible. It can be proved by arguments exclusively scientific, critical, and historical.

Such a demonstration, since it produces a moral certitude of the highest order, is always useful and is sometimes necessary for the purposes of the higher critic and of the Christian apologist. Such a rigorous demonstration serves a threefold purpose: (1) The first advantage of such a demonstration, from a mere scientific standpoint, is that we could learn from the Bible what were the doctrines of Christ with at least the same degree of certainty as we now learn from the pages of Xenophon and Plato what were the doctrines of Socrates. (2) The second advantage arising from thus establishing the human authority of the Bible is negatively very great, for it removes any antecedent prejudice against the doctrine of the Inspiration of Scripture. The presumption is that any book that is humanly unreliable or historically false, cannot be an inspired book. That Scripture is humanly and historically reliable removes any such objection to the doctrine of its inspiration. (3) The third advantage arising from the human authority of Scripture is evident from the following considerations. Ordinary historical evidence is sufficient to satisfy us with regard to the truthfulness of statements found in the works of such writers as Tacitus and Suetonius. We do not

insist upon inspiration in these writers as a condition to their reliability. So that, even if instances of incorrect judgment, defective reasoning, or hasty generalization were to occur in their works, we would not therefore question their general truthfulness. But historical criticism has placed the books of the Bible on a level with the most reliable human documents. The higher critic requires nothing more. Then may we not believe that the testimony of these books about themselves is as reliable as their testimony about other things? May we not believe them when they assert their own inspiration, and may we not thus draw from them an inference far in advance of their general credibility? May we not quote from Scripture to prove, at least with a human certainty, that Scripture is Inspired?

This idea is nothing new. The dogma of inspiration comes to us through the same channels, as do all the other dogmas of the Church,—through Scripture and Tradition. As to the first, we willingly admit that Scripture does not prove the inspiration of each and every book on the Canon; simply because there are on the Canon some books concerning the inspiration of which it so happens that there is no mention in Scripture. Some Catholic authors have been reluctant to grant thus much, lest they should appear to yield too much to Protestants. This is all wrong. We should not give up a good argument nor cease to use it, simply because our adversaries use it. To prove the inspiration of Scripture we need all the valid arguments that exist. Our Lord and His Apostles testify in Scripture to the inspiration of Scripture. Why may we not use the testimony of Christ? He gave it. If He gave it, He gave it that we should use it. And to use the gift is the best way to thank the giver.

We are clearly entitled to argue on such data as Scripture furnishes to its own Inspiration, provided the demonstration is properly conducted. Neither is there any danger in this matter of falling into a "vicious circle." If we were to begin at the wrong end, and, without proving anything, if we were to assume the Inspiration of Scripture in order to prove the Inspiration of Scripture; or if we were to assume the human authority of Scripture in order to prove the human

authority of Scripture ; or if we were to assume the human authority of Scripture in order to prove the divine authority of Scripture ; or if we were to assume the divine authority of Scripture in order to prove the human authority of Scripture, we would, indeed, be guilty of the fallacy alleged. But we proceed in an entirely different way. We take nothing for granted. We assume nothing. We prove everything. By means of rigorous historico-critical arguments, in no way based either on Scripture or on the divine tradition of the Church, we prove that Scripture is humanly reliable. We then quote this admittedly reliable Scripture in order to prove that the same Scripture is inspired. Having demonstrated its reliability, there is no reason why we may not rightly infer that its statements about itself are as reliable as its statements about other things. This, then, is no "vicious circle," but a movement forward on a straight line of logical, progressive development.

However, such a demonstration of the divine authority of Scripture is, from the very nature of the case, subject to several limitations. It is not applicable to all the books of Scripture. It is not adapted to the needs of all classes of persons. It is for scholars ; for it recommends itself to the intelligence of those only who are capable of appreciating long-drawn-out critical arguments. It does not preclude all controversy. And, finally, carried no further than we have indicated, it does not enable us to elicit an Act of Divine Faith. For such an act we need the authoritative voice and decision of the Church.

CHARLES P. GRANNAN.

THE GEOMETRY OF FLUIDS IN MOTION.

PROBLEM.

"The direction of the flow of a fluid having been determined at a certain number of points by experiment, to determine geometrically the lines of flow of the fluid."

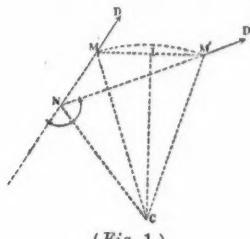
I° LINES OF FLOW IN THE PLANE.

Definition: A lineal element is the aggregate of a point M , and a direction D through that point. In the plane a lineal element is equivalent to a rigid body, since it takes one point and a direction through the point to locate a rigid body in a plane.

Theorem I: Being given two lineal elements (MD) and ($M'D'$), there is always a rotation and only one by means of which one of the elements can be brought in coincidence with the other.

This theorem, which is the well known fundamental theorem of the geometry of motion of a rigid body in the plane, is also the fundamental theorem in the geometry of the lines of flow, for the laws of this geometry are an extension of the laws governing the motion of a rigid body. We shall, therefore, recall here briefly the demonstration of theorem I:

Draw IC perpendicular to the middle of MM' (fig. 1); pro-

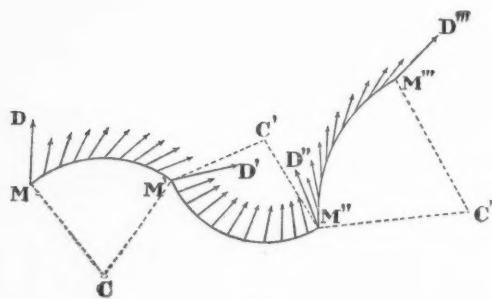


(Fig. 1.)

duce the lines D and D' until they meet at N and draw NC bisecting the angle DND' or its supplement (according to the relative directions of D and D' towards the point N). The

lines IC and NC meet at C and if the lineal element (MD) be rotated around C it will come in coincidence with $(M'D')$. During this rotation, the point M describes a circle MM' around C ; the angle of rotation MCM' is equal to the angle of D with D' . The point C is called the *center of rotation* relative to the two lineal elements (MD) and $(M'D')$.

Preliminary problem: A series of lineal elements (MD) , $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, being given, let it be required to determine a motion of the element (MD) such that this element will pass through all the given positions (MD) , $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, etc., (fig. 2). Having constructed the center of rotation C relative



(Fig. 2.)

to the elements (MD) and $(M'D')$, the center of rotation C relative to the elements $(M'D')$ and $(M''D'')$, the center of rotation C'' relative to the elements $(M''D'')$ and $(M'''D''')$, etc., we can produce the required motion by means of a succession of rotations around each corresponding center. This gives a continuous series of lineal elements, among which all the given elements are to be found.

Definition: If lineal elements be distributed throughout the plane, so that there be a lineal element at each point of the plane, all these elements are said to form a *system of lineal elements*.

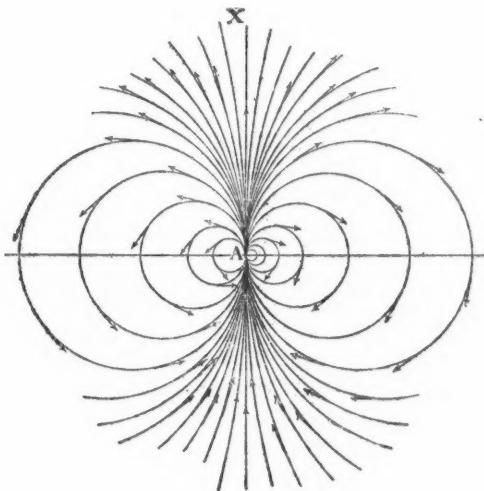
General problem: Suppose now that a certain number of lineal elements (MD) , $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, etc., be given, scattered over the plane, and let it be required to determine a continuous system of lineal elements covering the whole plane and such

that all the given elements shall be found among those of the system. This problem, which is the special problem we have in view, is evidently of the same character as the preceding one, but more general and complex. It is necessary, therefore, to proceed step by step, as follows:

Theorem II: Any family or system of curves covering the whole plane defines a continuous system of lineal elements, and conversely.

Through any point M of the plane passes a curve of the system, and the tangent D to this curve at this point determines with M a lineal element.

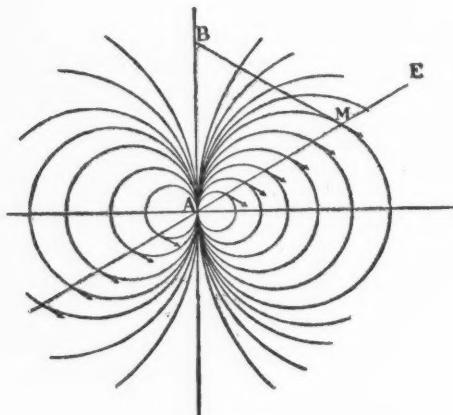
Definition: Being given a line AX and a point A on this line, there is an infinite number of circles tangent to the line AX at the point A (fig. 3). This system of circles covers the



(Fig. 3.)

whole plane and shall be called a *circular system*; the point A is the *center* and the line AX the *axis* of the system. A circular system is completely determined when its center and axis are known. At the center of a circular system the lineal element can take any direction whatever.

Theorem III: If a straight line AE be drawn through the center A of a circular system (fig. 4), the lineal elements corresponding to the different points of this line are parallel to each other.



(Fig. 4.)

For it is evident that :

$$\text{angle } DME = \text{angle } BMA = \text{angle } BAM = \text{constant.}$$

Problem III: To determine a circular system, being given its center A and one lineal element (MD) of the system.

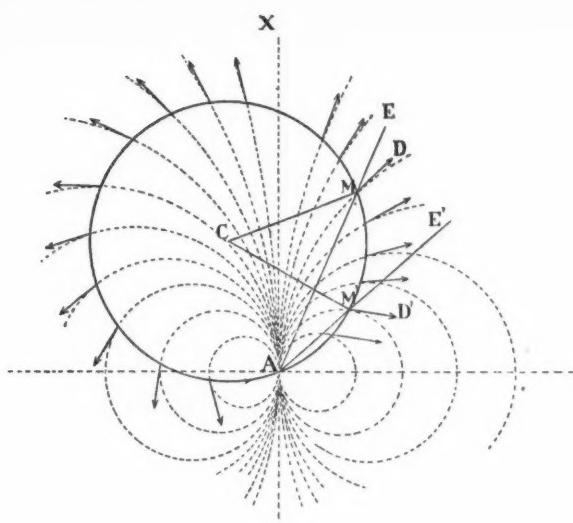
Join A to M and draw a line AX making (in the opposite direction) the same angle with AM as AM does with MD . This line AX will be the axis of the circular system.

Theorem IV: If any circle be drawn passing through the center A of a circular system (fig. 5), the lineal elements corresponding to the different points of this circle will cut this circle under the same angle.

Let C be the center of any circle drawn through the point A ; M and M' two points of this circle and (MD) , $(M'D')$ the corresponding lineal elements. According to the preceding theorem :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{angle } DME &= \text{angle } XAM \\ \text{angle } D'M'E' &= \text{angle } XAM' \end{aligned}$$

Hence the angle of D with D' equals twice the angle MAM' ;



(Fig. 5.)

but angle MCM' is also equal to twice the inscribed angle MAM' . It follows :

$$\text{angle } (D, D') = \text{angle } MCM'.$$

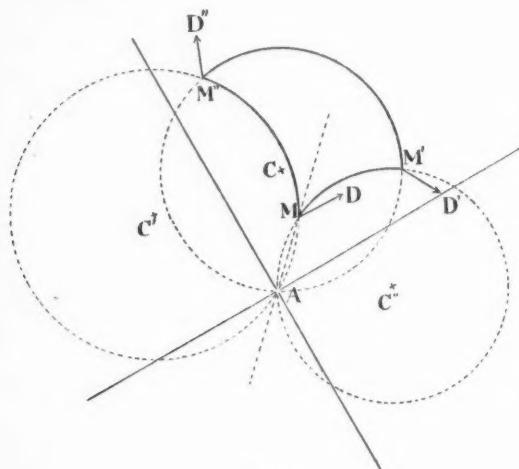
The point C is, therefore, the center of rotation relative to the lineal elements (MD) and $(M'D')$, and this holds true for all positions of M' on the circle MM' . If, then, the lineal element MD be rotated around C , we shall obtain a continuous series of elements, all of which belong to the circular system, and this is true of any circle passing through the center A .

Theorem V: Conversely, if (MD) and $(M'D')$ be any two lineal elements of a circular system, the whole rotation determined by these elements belongs to the system, i.e.: if (MD) be rotated around the center of rotation relative to (MD) and $(M'D')$, all the positions occupied by (MD) during this rotation belong to the circular system.

This is a result of the preceding theorem, because there is only one center of rotation C relative to two given elements. We may add that the rotation determined by any two ele-

ments of a circular system is such that the circle described by M during this rotation always passes through the center A to the system.

Theorem VI: Being given the three lineal elements (MD) , $(M'D')$, and $(M''D'')$ anywhere in the plane, there is a circular system, and only one, passing through these three elements (fig. 6).



(Fig. 6.)

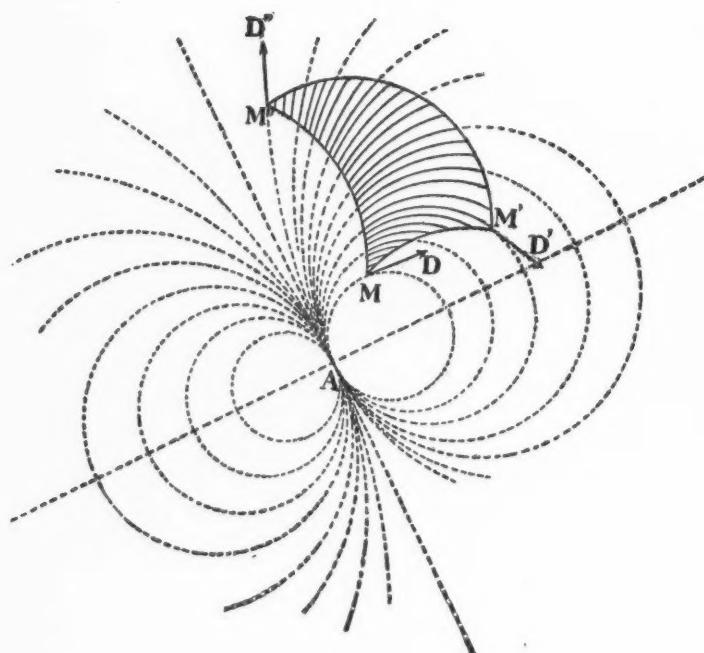
Let C'' be the center of rotation relative to the elements (MD) and $(M'D')$, and let C' be the center relative to (MD) and $(M''D'')$. When the element (MD) is rotated around C'' , the point M describes the circle MM' and when this element is rotated around C' , the point M describes the circle MM'' . These two circles intersect at M , so that they have always another point of intersection A and only one. It is evident that the circular system determined by the center A and the lineal element (MD) shall also contain the elements $(M'D')$ and $(M''D'')$; for, suppose (MD) to be rotated around C' , its consecutive positions (among which there will be $(M'D')$) belong to the circular system, since the circle MM' passes through the center A of the system. The same is true of $(M''D'')$, which proves the theorem.

Having thus determined the center A of the circular system passing through three given elements, the axis of the system will be located as in Problem III, by joining A to M and drawing a line AX , making the same angle with AM as AM does with MD .

This theorem is the extension of Theorem I, i. e.: in the same way as there is but one rotation between two given lineal elements, there is but one circular system between three given lineal elements, and we see that the center A of this system plays with respect to the three elements the same part as the center of rotation C with respect to the two elements.

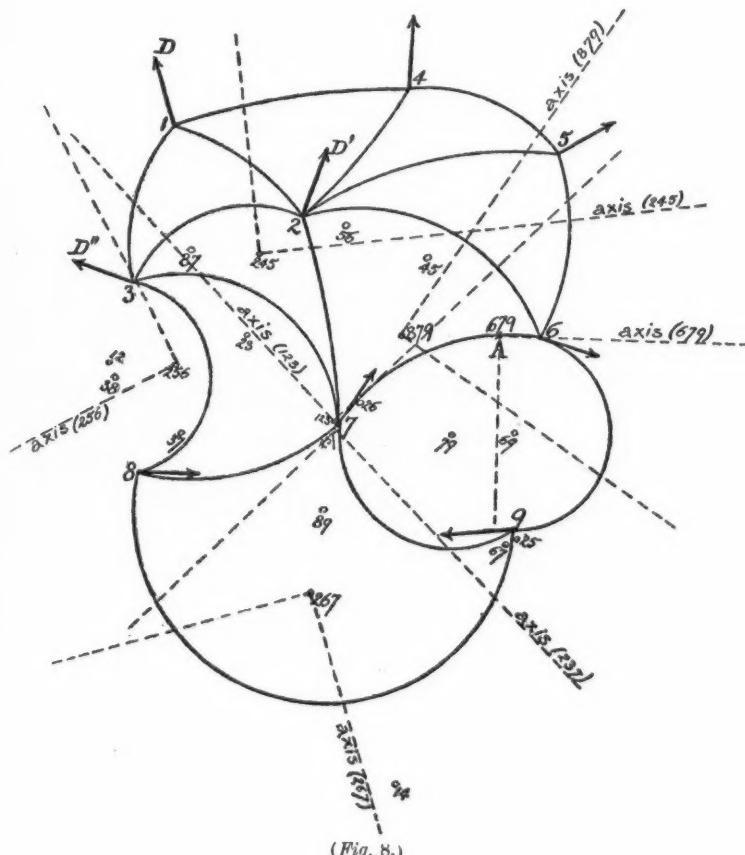
Remark: There are three centers of rotation, C , C' , C'' , determined by the elements (MD) , $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, and we have used only two of them, but had we used the third one, the result would have been the same, because the circle $M'M''$ drawn around the third center C passes also through the same point A , (according to theorem V). This remark leads to a simple construction for finding the resultant of any two rotations in the plane, as the rotation $M'CM''$ is the resultant of the rotations $M'C''M$ and $MC'M''$. We can also say that the resultant of two rotations belongs to the circular system determined by these two component rotations.

Definition: Having constructed the center A and the axis AX of the circular system passing through three given elements (MD) , $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, we can trace all the circles of this system, and by doing this we get a system of curves or lines of flow, which covers the whole plane and which is such that at the given points M , M' and M'' the flow has precisely the given directions D , D' and D'' (fig. 7). Instead of covering the whole plane with this system of circles, suppose that we trace only those circles or arcs of circle, which fall inside the curvilinear triangle formed by the arcs MM' , $M'M''$ and $M''M$ (as shown in full lines in fig. 7.), we shall call this triangular portion of the circular system : the *circular flow* between the three elements (MD) , $(M'D')$ and $(M''D'')$.



(Fig. 7.)

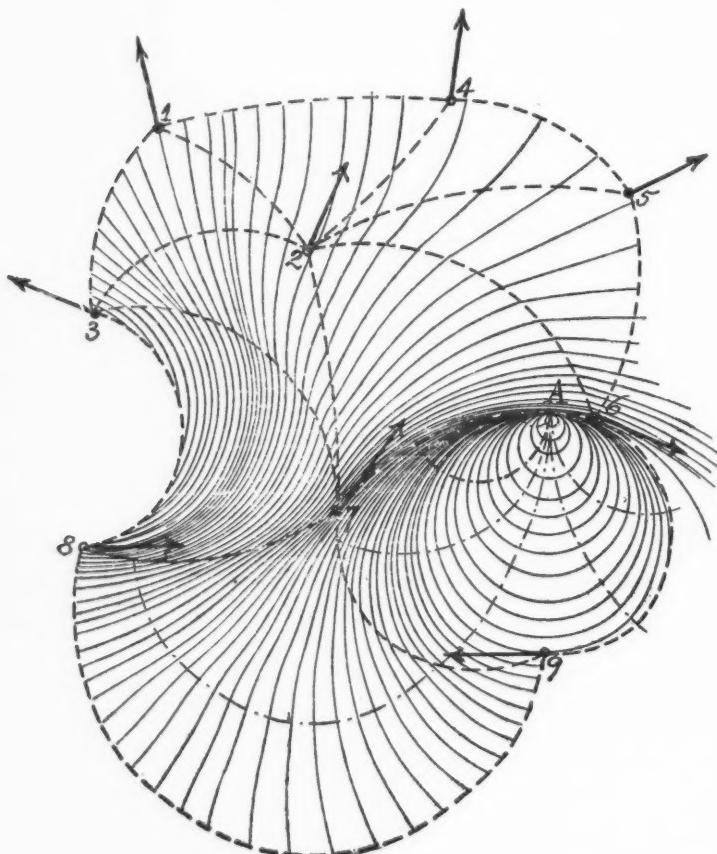
Solution of the general problem: Let 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., be any number of points in the plane (fig. 8) and let D, D', D'', \dots , etc., be respectively the direction of the flow of any fluid at these points (as given by observation), to determine the flow of this fluid



(Fig. 8.)

we begin with three of the given points, such as 1, 2 and 3 and determine the circular flow between these three points (fig. 9); this circular flow will fill a certain curvilinear triangle. Then we take points 1, 2 and 4 and determine the circular flow between these points; the curvilinear triangle which is filled by this flow has one side 1, 2, in common with the preceding

triangle, because the rotation 1, 2, is common to both.¹ By repeating the same operation with other points, we subdivide the plane into curvilinear triangles, which fit each other ex-



(Fig. 9.)

actly, and each one of these triangles is filled with a circular flow. We shall now prove that all these circular flows, put together form a *continuous flow*.

¹In fig. 8 the following notations have been used: 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., denote the given points 12 denotes the center of rotation relative to the elements 1 and 2, etc.; the center of the circular system determined by the elements 2, 4 and 5, for instance would be marked 245, etc.

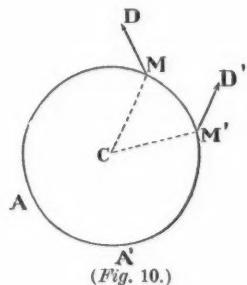
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This is proved by :

Theorem VII: The intersection of any two circular systems is a rotation passing through the center of each system.

By *intersection* of two systems we mean the lineal elements common to the two systems. It is evident that two systems have certain elements in common, for each circle of the first system is tangent to a certain circle of the second system; if M be the point of contact and D the common tangent, the lineal element (MD) belongs to both systems.

Let A and A' be the centers of two given circular systems (fig. 10), and (MD) a lineal element common to the two systems: draw the circle $AA'M$; if the element (MD) be rotated around the center C of this circle, all its positions will be common to the two systems, because in this rotation the point M describes a circle passing through the center of each system (see Theorem IV.).



Corollary: If (MD) and ($M'D'$) are lineal elements common to two circular systems (fig. 10) the intersection of the two systems will be the rotation determined by these two elements, and in this rotation the point M will pass through the center of each system.

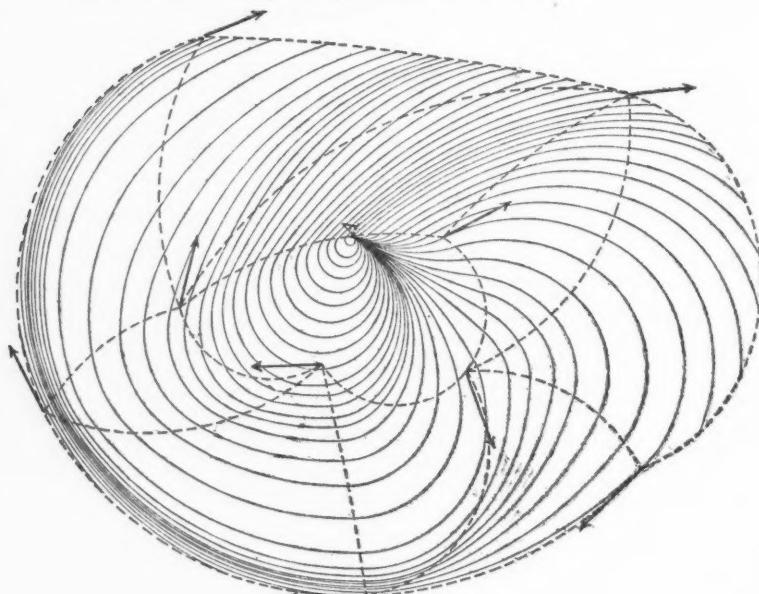
Hence, if we go back to fig. 8 and consider two consecutive curvilinear triangles such as 1, 2, 3 and 1, 2, 4, the lineal elements at the points 1 and 2 being common to both triangles, the rotation 1, 2, determined by these elements will be precisely the intersection of the circular system 1, 2, 3 with the circular system 1, 2, 4, so that all along the arc 1, 2, the circles of the first system will be respectively tangent to the cir-

cles of the second system, i. e: the circular flow in the triangle 1, 2, 3 and the circular flow in the adjacent triangle 1, 2, 4, will form a continuous flow.

This being true of any two adjacent triangles, the circular flows, which fill the different triangles, will form a continuous flow covering the plane, and such that at the given points 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., the direction of the flow shall be the same as given by observation. Each line of flow is composed of several arcs of circle forming a continuous curve (fig 9).

Remarks: It may happen that the center *A* of a circular flow falls between two vertices of the corresponding triangle; such is the case for the triangle 6, 7, 9 in fig. 8. In this case a *vortex* is formed in the fluid, as shown in fig. 9, at the point *A*.

Fig. 11 shows more in detail the perturbation produced in a fluid in motion by the presence of a vortex.



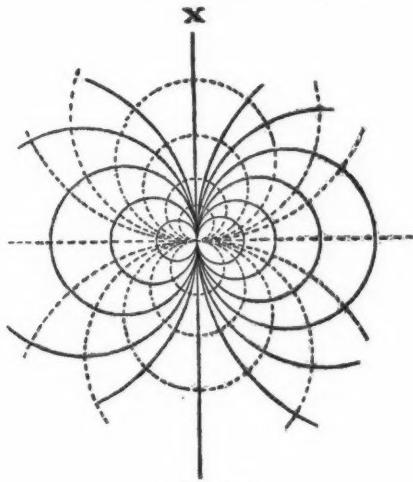
(Fig. 11.)

If the fluid be the atmospheric air, i. e: if the given lineal elements 1, 2, 3, etc., represent the direction of the wind observed at the same time in different places, the lines of flow

will determine the flow of the wind over the whole country, and if a vortex appears at a certain point A of the map, it means that this point is the center of a cyclonic disturbance of the atmosphere.

If the fluid be the magnetic fluid, i. e.: if the given lineal elements 1, 2, 3, etc., represent the direction of the magnetic needle at these points, the lines of flow will be the lines of force of the magnetic field, and the appearance of a vortex detects the presence of a magnet in the field. It is worth while to remark, that the magnetic field produced by a single magnet is precisely a circular system, provided the length of the magnet be negligible in comparison with the size of the field.

Theorem VIII: If a circular system be rotated of a right angle around its center A (fig. 12), the new system obtained is



(Fig. 12.)

orthogonal to the first, i. e., each circle of the first system intersects each circle of the second system at right angle.

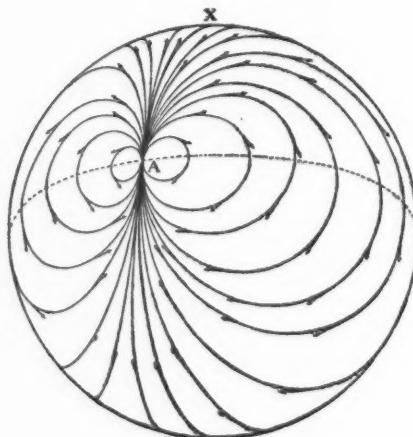
Hence, if the first system represents the lines of flow of a fluid in motion, the second system will represent the equipotential lines of the same fluid. Since the circular flow, filling any one of the triangles of fig. 8, is determined by means of a circular system, we can obtain at the same time the equipo-

tential lines inside of each triangle by turning the corresponding circular system of a right angle around its center, and keeping only that portion of this new circular system which falls inside the triangle. The equipotential lines thus determined in all the triangles will form also a continuous system, since the lines of flow are continuous. Some of the equipotential lines are shown in dotted in fig. 9.

In conclusion, we can say that the same method can be utilized for tracing the contour lines and the lines of greatest slope of a topographical map; but in this case it is necessary to determine first the direction of the tangent to the contour lines in a sufficient number of points; this being done, the problem is the same as the one of the flow of a fluid; but care must be taken to draw all the tangents in the direction of the supposed flow. We can, however, suppose the flow to be running either one way or the other, for the lines of flow remain the same if the direction of all the given lineal elements be reversed at the same time.

II° LINES OF FLOW ON THE SPHERE.

The geometry of the lines of flow on the surface of a sphere is exactly the same as in the plane, because all the theorems



(Fig. 13.)

of plane geometry involved in this theory can be extended to the sphere. The same method can then be used to determine the magnetic field on the surface of the earth, knowing the direction of the magnetic needle in a sufficient number of points. (It is evident that the correctness of the results is proportional to the number of observations.) Fig. 13 shows a circular system on the surface of a sphere.

The preceding theory shows that the most general motion of a fluid in a plane is the motion defined by a circular system. In order to determine the most general motion of a fluid in space we must extend the theory to lines of flow in space.

RENÉ DE SAUSSURE.

THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND THE DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH.¹

Among the various questions, critical and literary, raised by a careful study of the Divine Library of the Old Testament, certainly the chief in extent, intricacy and importance is that concerning the composition of the Pentateuch and its continuation and conclusion, the Book of Joshua. For now well-nigh a century and a half, critical investigation has not ceased; and if system has succeeded to system, in at first sight barren confusion; if, as a matter of fact, much has successively seemed for a while to be achieved which later on has again been called in question and been replaced by something else: yet, often hidden by much crudeness and impatience, sometimes by frivolity or rationalism, true method was being gradually learned and certain large results were being attained, a method and results which no futile ingenuity can escape. I should like to try and show how this is, and why.

In the present paper, I propose to limit myself to the main point which has been brought home to me, gradually, in part reluctantly, by over six years' close study of the Hebrew Hexateuch only just concluded, during which time Genesis has been gone over three times, Exodus twice, and the whole of the remaining books at least once,—the first three books accompanied, word for word, by the close study of commentaries, and by the construction of special vocabularies and notes.²

¹ Paper read at the Catholic International Scientific Congress, held at Freiburg, Switzerland, August, 1897. On the question of orthodoxy, see Abbé Loisy's "Les Etudes Bibliques," Amiens, 1894; the articles by Fr. Herbert Lukas and Dr. Robert Clarke, in the *Tablet*, Oct. 9, 16; Nov. 6, 27; Dec. 11, 18, 1897; and Père Lagrange's Freiburg paper, summarized in our last number.

² I owe most, in the way of books, to August Dillmann's still indispensable commentaries; but much also to Rudolf Kittell's "Geschichte der Hebraeer" Gotha, 1892; to Dr. Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the O. T." and his fine commentary on Deuteronomy, 1895; on questions of literary analysis; to parts of Wellhausen's "Composition des Hexateuch's," ed. 1899. I have also gratefully learned, on some points, from Fr. von Hummelauer's "Genesis," 1895, and hope to learn still more from his "Exodus et Leviticus," 1897 and this although the otherwise serious scholarship of his work, and its significant implication or admission of documents, and documents of very different dates, are appreciably marred by the persistent but surely hopeless effort to prove them all of Mosaic or pre-Mosaic, indeed, Patriarchal, even Noachian authorship. Holzinger's "Einleitung in den Hexateuch" Freiburg, 1893, I have found the most complete and critical collection of all the formidable mass of facts and analyses accumulated since Astruc's book (1753) and, indeed, before.

If even now I venture to speak at all, I do so with feelings of some shame; for it would seem not far from an impertinence to speak where I have so little that is substantially new to say. Yet I am not simply compiling or copying from others; I can speak with that kind of authority which the close study of all the original texts alone can give a man: and such speech may have its uses in a subject-matter as yet but little again studied historically amongst Catholics.¹ I want to put before the reader, as vividly as I can, by description and examples, the specific nature and character of historical method and of historical development, this method as the true *form*, this development as the true *matter* of historical investigation.

As a boy I grew up with a keen interest in entomology and geology; they helped develop in me, I think, a double consciousness: of cumulative evidence as an instrument of knowledge, of successive stages of development as a subject-matter of knowledge. For in entomology I learnt, from daily observation, that it was not the *antennae* alone, nor the *elitrae* or wings alone, nor the *thorax* or legs alone, nor the *larvae* or *pupae* alone, nor any of the other peculiarities of the different species, genera and classes of insects which, taken singly, conclusively differentiate each species or group from the other; but that it is the constant recurrence of the colligation of all these special characteristics, which alone convinces us of having reached naturally distinct groups. There are moths very like wasps in some points, there are beetles very like flies in others; yet *Lepidoptera* and *Hymenoptera*, *Coleoptera* and *Diptera* remain safely and securely divided off from each other. The *simultaneous* differentiation of nature is thus tracked and traced by cumulative evidence. And then in geology I got to *successive* differentiation, what had been points becoming lines, and long lines, world succeeding world, each in part dependent upon and conditioning, preparing or fulfilling the other. And here again it was cumulative evidence which alone made me certain; for certain chalk-formations are, in some respects, very like some eocene beds, and some eocene formations are, in part, closely similar to oolithic ones. It is only the colli-

¹ I shall have occasion to remind the reader that it was Catholics who, by universal consent, founded this branch of learning, and that Catholics are again resuming their proper share in these noble studies, studies which require the Church and which the Church requires.

gation of certain mineral characteristics with others of such and such relation to underlying and overlying beds, and with the special character of the fossils, the flora and fauna, found imbedded,—it is only such colligation that effects demonstration.

Now, many and capital are the differences which separate the natural sciences from historical study, nature from man; the oblivion or obliteration of these differences is probably the prime error of our times; yet the two characters just now traced in the former sciences recur again in the latter study. For neither here do we ever by this or that peculiarity, taken singly, attain to conviction concerning difference of character or origin in either concomitant or successive literary and historical variation, but only by the observation and registration of colligated variation of characteristics. And besides this similarity of method we have also a similarity of subject-matter, since here again we investigate a real history, a gradual expansion and a growth. This cumulative character of the evidence, this developmental character of the subject-matter are the foundations and pivots to which all the particular proofs and arguments point, and on which they rest and turn.

Hence I will try and illustrate these two points, and these two only, from the evidence adducible for the existence and general delimitation of the four great documents of the Hexateuch: the Jehovist or Jahvist (J), the Elohist or Ephraemite (E), the Deuteronomist (D), the Priestly Code (P). The cumulative character of the evidence will be illustrated from the narrative portions; this first question is *literary*. The development in the subject-matter will be proved from the legislative parts; this second question is *historical*. But first I would point out that, at least the first of these questions as to the existence and delimitation of these documents is not identical with that as to their absolute, or even as to their relative age and proper succession. Even if those critics are wrong who find a great difference in age between JE and D, and between D and P; whether J comes before E, or E before J; even if P came before D: the four documents would continue to prove distinct. The recognition that Fénelon is contemporary with Bossuet leaves the writings of Fénelon distinct from those of Bossuet. The question again is different

from that as to how far the divergences of historical, chronological, geographical, moral, theological view which lie on the surface of the several documents are real or only apparent. As Fr. Robert Clarke has pertinently said, in his most competent articles in the London *Tablet*, of February-March, 1894, "even if these apparent differences are not real contradictions, it does not in the least follow that the same author could possibly have written both, because a writer avoids not only contradictions, but also what resembles or suggests them, and subjoins an explanation when he asserts two things which seem incompatible."¹ "The Imitation of Christ" of Thomas à Kempis and the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius of Loyola have often been compared and even harmonized as representing the same doctrine, but this does not prevent their accumulated differences of point of view, of tone and vocabulary from excluding all serious idea of unity of authorship. And finally, and above all, the question is distinct from that as to the amount to which each document is or may be based upon authentic tradition or even upon previous documents. Thus Prof. Fritz Hommel, in his recent book directed against the Kuenen-Wellhausen reconstruction of Old Testament history, is not inconsistent if he refuses to follow the American Prof. Green and the English Prof. Sayce in their denial of the composite authorship of the Hexateuch. He acknowledges the existence of the four great documents J, E, D, P, and says: "The negation of different sources would but be a radical cure which, in view of the researches of the whole of this century in the field of the Old Testament would go distinctly too far, and would but cut the knot instead of untying it. Even Klostermann is free from all idea of proclaiming the non-existence of the separate sources."² The four rivers of Paradise might be found to carry down with them much gold and silver, electrum and amber: but this would leave the Pison and the Gihon, the Hiddekel and the Euphrates as truly four distinct streams as if they carried down but dust and ashes, mud and sand. And now

¹ March 31, p. 497.

² This very learned book contrasts painfully, in its rare lack of method and conclusiveness, with Eduard Meyer's "Entstehung des Judenthums," Halle, 1896, which criticises, in an admirable close-knit manner, Koster's (Wellhausen's) attitude towards the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

before taking single instances, it will be well first to try and gain a fairly vivid general idea of the actual extent and character of the evidence at our disposal.

The Hexateuch consists of 211 chapters ; it is from three to four times the length of the "Imitation." These chapters, if we take the very careful German translation of the Old Testament, edited by Kautzsch as our standard, are distributed amongst the documents as follows : Matter equivalent to 79 chapters belongs to JE (this includes 6 chapters of very ancient poetry) ; equivalent to 38 chapters belongs to D ; to 89 chapters, to P ; and to 5, belongs to the Redactor or is of uncertain origin. Hence over one-third of the whole belongs to JE ; one-fifth to D ; and about three-sevenths to P. It is true that most of the passages attributed to J or E, or to JE, (this latter sign marks the numerous cases in which critics have not yet got beyond the conviction of an amalgam formed by these two closely similar documents), also, many of those attributed to P, are short and mixed up with other documents ; but all four documents are represented by pure and unbroken pieces of considerable extent. So for J, there are the three chapters (Gen., II-IV), with the history of the Fall ; the two (Gen., XVIII, XIX) with Jahweh's apparition to Abraham at Hebron and the destruction of Sodom ; the chapter (Gen. XXIV) with the wooing of Rebecca for Isaac ; and that Gen. XXXVIII) with the story of Judah and Thamar. For E, there is the account of Abraham at Gerar, and of Sarah being taken and returned by Abimelech (c. XX) ; of the expulsion of Hagar and the sacrifice of Isaac (c. XXI, 8-XXII, 13) ; and of the youth of Moses (Exod. II, 1-22). For JE, we have Jacob's theft of his brother's birthright (Gen., XXVII, 1-45) ; Jacob with Laban, his flight and wrestling with the Angel, his reconciliation with Esau (cc. XXIX-XXXIII) ; the story of Joseph (cc. XXXVII, XXXIX-XLV) ; Moses striking the rock ; his victory over the Amalekites, visit to Jethro and institution of Judges (Exod., XVII-XVIII) ; the golden calf, erection of the Tabernacle, Moses' intercession for the people (cc. XXXII-

¹⁴ "Die heil. Schrift des Alten Testaments," Freiburg i. Breisgau, Mohr, 2nd ed., 1896. As in this paper I have the Hebrew original continually in mind, I quote the Biblical books according to their Hebrew Bible nomenclature, and give the proper names in their [approximately] Hebrew form.

XXXIII); the start from Sinai, election of the seventy elders, the quails, Miriam's leprosy (Numbers, X, 33-XII); Balaam (XXI-XXIV); the taking of Jericho and Achan's theft (Josh. VI-VII). All these J and E and JE passages are narrative. As to legislative parts, there is the legislation in Exodus, cc. XXI-XXIII, 13, the 'Book of the Covenant' (XXIV, 4, 8), which corresponds to the style and point of view of E; and there is Exodus, XXXIV, 11-26, the 'Title Book of the Covenant,' which gives us a closely similar code, in the style of J.

For D we have five chapters (Deut., I-III, VIII,-IX) of historical retrospect in a paraenetic setting; and for laws, we have the great unbroken paraenesis of Deuteronomy, cc. XII.-XXVI.

For P we have, as to narratives, the Hexaemeron (Gen., c. I); the genealogies from Adam to Noah (c. V); the institution of Circumcision and the promise of the birth of Isaac (c. XVII); Sarah's death and burial (c. XXIII); God's revelation of the name of Jahweh, the descendants of Moses and Aaron, Aaron's staff and the serpents (Exod., VI, 2; VII, 13); the institution of the Passover (XII, 3-20); the manufacture and erection of the Tabernacle and its furniture (cc. XXXV-XL); the first numbering of fighting men (Numb. I, 1-47); the gifts and sacrifices of the princes of the tribes (c. VII). And, as to legislation, we have such long pieces as Leviticus, cc. I-VII, on the regulation of the sacrifices; cc. XII-XV, on the laws of cleanliness; c. XVI, on the Day of Atonement; cc. XXI-XXIII, rules for the priests; Numbers, c. II, order of the camp; cc. III IV, rules for the Levites.

Now, it is from the study of the vocabulary, style, geography, chronology, historiography, ethics and theology of these long, unbroken passages, and after their final attribution,¹ that we can proceed to the analysis of the mixed chapters. Nor does the fact that this latter analysis has often to remain doubtful, throw doubt upon the attribution of the long, unmixed passages or even upon the conclusion that these dis-

¹The literary and other peculiarities of the four documents are carefully registered and sifted by Holzinger, *i. e.*: J [with its 42 entirely special words] on pp. 72-138; E [with 37 words] on pp. 181-212; D [with 84 special words and combinations] on pp. 282-325; and P [with 124 entirely special words for its three layers] on pp. 334-425. About 200 words and phrases are common to D and Jeremiah [his vocation, B. C. 622]; and the oldest layer of P, the Law of Holiness, Ph, is closely similar to Ezekiel [called B. C. 593].

puted passages *are* mixed. We may remain doubtful as to what islands belong to the Tahitian group and to France, and be none the less certain that ancient Gaul is France.

Nor can it be argued that perhaps, after all, the difference of style and of point of view between these various sets of passages are explicable from a change of subject, and not of author. For here the practically undeniable numerous doublets and triplets, both of narrative and of legislation, come in most powerfully; in these cases there is identity of subject, but the same sustained diversity of style and of point of view, as when the subject itself is different. Thus, as to narrative passages, the following events are told twice: God's covenant with Abraham, by JE, in Gen. c. XV, by P, in c. XVII; the adventures of Sarah, by J, in c. XII, 6-20, by E, in c. XX, 1-17; the expulsion of Hagar, by J, in c. XVI, 4-14, by E, in c. XXI, 8-21; God promises Abraham a son, Isaac, by J, XVIII, 1-15, by P, XVII, 1-19; the vocation of Moses and God's self-revelation as Jahweh, by JE, Exod., III, 2-14, by P, VI, 2-13; Aaron appointed spokesman for Moses, by E?, IV, 14-16, by P, VI, 30; VII, 2; the start from Sinai, by P, X, 11-28, by JE, X, 29-32; Moses strikes water from the rock at Meriba, by JE, Exod., XVII, 1-7, by ?, Numb., XX, 1-13. And as in this last doublet the origin of the name of Meriba is explained twice, so also that of Beersheba is interpreted twice, and somewhat differently: by E, Gen. XXI, 30, 31, as from "seven" lambs; by J, as from "oath," Gen. XXVI, 31-33. Bethel too is explained twice: by E, XXVIII, 10-12, 17, 18; by P, XXXV, 15. The name of Israel is twice given to Jacob: by J, XXXII, 25-29, by P, XXXV, 9, 10. The name of Isaac is explained three times: by P, XVII, 17, from Abraham's laughing; by J, XVIII, 12, from Sarah's laughing; by E, XXI, 6, from the neighbor's laughing.

But it is in the legislative doublets and triplets that we can study not only difference, but often apparent growth. The Decalogue is given twice, by E, in Exod., c. XX, (the Sabbath, in v. 11, is declared holy, because God rested on the seventh day of Creation); by D, in Deut. c. V, (the Sabbath, in v. 15, is declared holy, because God led the Israelites out of Egypt on a Sabbath). The right place of worship is given, by E, in

Exod. XX, 24, as any place where God has, in any special manner, manifested His presence ; by D, Deut., XII, 5, XIV, 23, XVI, 2, it is restricted to one place only, the Tabernacle ; and this is endorsed by P, Lev., XVII, 4. The feast of Mazzoth-Pesach (Passover) is given by J, Exod., XXXIV, 18, and by D, Deut. XVI, 3, as of seven days' duration ; by P, Lev. XXIII, 4-8, Numb., XXVIII, 16-25, as of eight days' duration. The Feast of Tabernacles lasts seven days in D : Deut., XVI, 13 ; eight days in P : Numb., XXIX, 12, 35. The laws given by J, in Exod., XXXIV, 17-26, can all be found again differently worded and grouped by E, in cc. XXI,-XXIII, The Cities of Refuge are defined by D, in Deut., XIX, 1-13 ; and again, with greater detail, by P, in Numb., XXXV, 9-35. And, within P itself, there are doublets and triplets. Some are identical : so with the account of the preparation of the oil for the candlestick ; Exod., XXVII, 20, 21, Lev., XXIV, 1-4 ; and with the law of perpetual morning and evening Holocaust, Exod., XXIX, 38-24, Numb., XXVIII, 3-8. Some have various degrees of elaboration or slightly different details : so with the three genealogies of the Levitical families : Gen. XLVI, 11 (simplest), Numb., III, 17-21 (fuller), Numb., XXVI, 58 (slightly different); so also with the two accounts of the transport of the Tabernacle in the wilderness : Numb., c. III, c. IV. Some finally show a growth or modification of the legislation itself. So as to the years of Levitical service : it is first from 30 to 50 years of age, Numb., IV, 23 ; later from 25 to 50, Numb., VIII, 23-26. So as to the sin-offering for the congregation : it is at first a young ox, Lev., IV, 14; later on, a he-goat, Lev., IX, 3. So as to the Altar of Incense : It is absent from the Temple-house in Exod., cc. XXV-XXIX, where the larger furniture is described as consisting of the Ark and Mercy-Seat, the Table of Show-breads, the Candlestick and the Curtain (XXVI, 35); and the great Altar in the open court is described simply as "the altar" (XXVII, 1-8). With this earlier stage corresponds Lev. c. XVI., where, on the great Day of Atonement, there is solemn incensing, but no Altar of Incense (vv. 12, 13.) It is present in Exod., cc. XXX, XXXI, XXXV-XL, where the Altar of Incense is ordered to be made, XXX, 1-10, and where the great altar in the open

court is called "the Altar of Holocaust," XXX, 28, XXX, 19, XXXVIII, 1-8. With this later stage corresponds Lev., c. IV, where, although there is no incensing, the Altar of Incense is repeatedly part and parcel of the function (vv. 7, 18); and where the great altar outside is called throughout "the Altar of Holocaust" (vv. 7, 10, 18, 25, 30, 34). Such and other minor growths point to three stages and layers of P: Ph, the so-called "Law of Holiness" (Lev., XVII-XXVI); Pg, the so-called "Grundschrift" the staple of the Priestly Code; and Ps, the secondary accretions of the latter.¹

Now it is surely most remarkable that, once we have got our documents J and E, D, E and P with its three layers, that, wherever we can make sure of an unmixed text, there, within the limits of each document, all contradiction or appearance of contradiction is absent. And, let it be noted, we have no vicious circle in our reasoning. For we have arrived at a persuasion as to the existence of these documents, in the first instance, through a large recurrence of differences of vocabulary and style, and not of geographical, chronological, historical, moral, theological view; so that we are free, now we have thus got our documents, to use the harmonies which now shine forth within each document, and the differences which separate each document from its fellows, as giving moral certainty to our analysis. The fact is that the old rationalist objection to the Bible as self-contradictory, is losing, for all those fully acquainted with the real state of things, all plausibility; for each writer in the Bible is found to be perfectly self-consistent, and so again each Redactor.

I will not now dwell upon the great reinforcement which accrues to the thesis of the separate sources from the fact of the striking interdependence between the differences in the narrative sections and the several developments in the legal sections; but will try and work out in detail one instance from each of these classes of cases.

As an example of parallel narratives and of the Jahwist and Priestly documents, I will take the substantive account of the Six Days' Creation, as given by P, Gen. I., 1.; II 4a; and the

¹ The peculiarities of Ph, Pg, and Ps are well given and discussed by Holzinger, *l. c.*, pp. 334-410.

incidental account of Creation, as given by J, Gen. II. 4b-25, in his story of the Temptation and Fall.¹

(1.) As to non-theological vocabulary, we get, in the first account, מין (*genus*) ten times; it occurs sixteen times more in other parts of P, but only there and in D throughout the Hexateuch. And yet is 'Kind' so rarely recurring an idea, as to be naturally wanting throughout the parts attributed to J and E, if these parts were from the same pen as P and D? זרן and שְׂרֵן, *pullulare* and *pullulus* (I, 20, 21), here twice and once respectively, occur besides in P ten and thirteen times respectively, generally together as here, else only in D; never in J or E. רַמֵּשׁ and רַמֵּשׁ, *repere* and *reptile*, here three times, (vv. 21, 28, 30) and three times (vv. 24-26) respectively, else thirteen times in P, only once in D, and once in J. כָּבֵשׂ *dominare*, (v. 28) four times besides, only in P in the Hexateuch. אֲכָלָה, always in the form לְאֲכָלָה, *in escam*, here twice (vv. 26, 30) besides twice more, only in P; four times in Ezechiel. תּוֹלְדוֹת *generationes*, (II, 4a) occurs twenty-eight more times, only in P in the Hexateuch. Is "generation" so rare an idea as not to furnish a fair contribution to the test of authorship? In the second account, we get טָרֵם, *nondum* (II, 5), twice, in seven other places in J; nowhere in P. הַפְעָם *nunc* (II., 23) וְאַתָּה הַפְעָם, nine times in J only; D has twice בְּפְעָם.

(2.) As to expressions, P writes חַיִת הָאָרֶץ, *bestiae terrae*, here *thrice* (I, 24, 25, 30) and twice elsewhere; J writes חַיִת הַשְׂרָה, *bestiae agri*, here *thrice* (II, 19, 20) and in three other places; D has this latter once, and Ph has it once. P writes עַשְׂבָּה, *herba*, simply, here *four times* (I, 11, 12, 29, 30). J writes חַשְׂרָה עַשְׂבָּה, *herba agri*, here *once* (II, 6) and also in III, 18. P has פְּרַח וּרְבָּה, *fructificare et multiplicari*, here

¹Appendix A.

twice (I, 22, 28). Thus, together, ten times more, in P only. P, and P alone, writes זְכָר וּנְקָבָה *masculus et femina*, here (I, 27) and in fourteen other places ; J writes אֲשֵׁת וְאִשְׁתָּהוּ, *vir et uxor sua* (VII, 2). זְמַר alone, P has thirty-eight times, D thrice, J only once, for certain.

(3.) As to theological words, P has בָּרָא, *creare*, which stands always without any accusative of matter, and appears wherever something specially great is to be produced, heaven and earth in general (I, 1 ; II., 3, 4), the sea monsters (I., 21), man, here twice over (I, 27). The word occurs twice again in P, once in D ; never, in the sense of creating, in J or E. J has יָצַר, *formare*, always with בַּין, *de*, and the matter out of which the object is formed, here thrice (I, 7, 8, 19) ; only in J throughout the Hexateuch. P calls God אלֹהִים, *Deus* only, up to Exod., VI, 2, where God Himself reveals His name of Jahweh ; before this, God reveals Himself, six times, to the Patriarchs as El Shaddai (Gen. XVII, and elsewhere) ; we have thus a successive development of the name and idea of God. J calls God יְהֹוָה, *Jahweh*, *Dominus*, from the first ; the addition of Elohim, *Deus*, which occurs in the two chapters of Gen., II and III, and nowhere else, seems explicable only as the Redactor's addition, to make it clear that the Jahweh here is indeed absolutely identical with the Elohim of ch. I ; or it may be but a hint for reading aloud, like the present punctuation of Jahweh throughout the Masoretic text.

(4.) As to the method of composition, and the general argument and idea of the two passages, there is a striking difference. Throughout the whole of P runs a remarkably close-knit, thin and straight line of reasoning and interest : the very composition accentuates this. Each of the eight works on the six days is introduced by a *dixitque Deus* ; there are ten such altogether, since three are used with reference to man's creation (vv. 26, 28, 29). Each order is followed, except in the case of man, by an *et factum est ita* ; hence there are seven such. Then follows a divine action, consequential to or executive of the order (so on the first and second, fourth and fifth

days); or there follows a second order and a second work (so on to the third and sixth days). On the first, second and third days are created the four elements: light, air (firmament), water and land, and on the land the plants, these latter the last upward link of the unmoving creation, and the last of the conditions necessary for moving creatures. We have thus the first *Triemerion* or *Tetraergon*. On the fourth, fifth and sixth days these four elements are furnished forth: on the fourth day, the light with luminaries; on the fifth, the air and water with birds and water-animals; on the sixth, the land with land-animals and man. We have thus the second *Triemerion* or *Tetraergon*. So that the days in each group answer to the corresponding days in the other group; each group beginning with two days of one work each, and finishing with a day of two works,—the two groups making up symmetrically a *Hexaemeron* or *Octoergon*. In somewhat varying positions, each of the eight works is followed by an *et vidit Dominus quod esset bonum*, with the exception of the second work, because this dividing of the waters into sub- and supra-firmamental waters is only finished in the third work, the further division of the sub-firmamental watery chaos into land and sea; and of the eighth work, because man's original goodness is still more powerfully expressed by his being declared created in God's image and likeness. But, as the words are added at the end, with regard to the totality of the works, these words too occur seven times. The three consequential actions (vv. 5, 8, 10) are followed by an *appellavitque Deus*, which therefore occurs thrice. And thrice occurs a *benedixitque Deus*, addressed to the water-animals and birds, to man, and to the Sabbath-day (vv. 22, 28, II. 1). Only the plants, the sun and moon, and the land-animals get neither named nor blessed. They are not named, because no individual being is thus named by God himself, excepting man alone (v. 2); the plants, and sun and moon are not blessed, because only creatures that have consciousness and are to be directly ruled over by man (v. 28) are thus blessed. The land-animals form the only, at first sight strange, exception to this second rule; the omission of the blessing in their case is probably owing to the assignation to them of food inferior to man's (v. 30). What an astonishingly

schematic framework, with its network of sacred numbers, with its minimum of matter and maximum of form, of tough, triumphant reasoning! How well adapted is the whole, and each part as strictly subservient to the whole, to bring out the great theme of the piece; the goodness, the reasonableness of the world and of life, both the work of the Supreme Reason, and both of them penetrable and intended to be dominated by the human reason, itself made in the likeness of His own! The tone and end are *optimistic*: there is no such thing as evil matter, or even matter untransformable by God or even man, or even simply preëxistent matter; but the all-good God has created all things out of nothing; each thing good and all things very good; and all things for man, creation's crown and governor. Man's relation to the universe is here the main point of interest; the interest is as *extrospective*, as *cosmological*, as in Christian Patristic times it was so largely in the East, say with Origen. And, theologically, God appears preponderantly *transcendant* and *abstract*; He is pictured as above, outside the matter which He has Himself created: *in principio creavit Deus coelum et terram*: the high heavens above us are mentioned first, and both heaven and earth are expressly said to have been created, as indeed throughout the piece *facere* is clearly identical with *creare*.

The account of J, on the contrary, strikes its theme in the opening words *in die quo Dominus fecit terram et coelum*. For *in die*, בַיּוֹם here has not the literal signification of the various days of the first document,¹ but no doubt simply means *quando*, or rather *cum*; just as in v. 17, בַיּוֹם had best be translated *quando*. And this intentional abstraction from spaces and strict successions of time is characteristic of the document throughout. *Fecit* in this document is not clearly synonymous with *creavit*, for it alternates throughout not with בָרַא, but with יִצְחַר, *formavit*, which occurs in each of the formations which are given at all,—formations always from some preëxistent matter, Adam and the animals from loam (vv. 7, 8), and Eve from one of Adam's ribs (v. 19).

¹ See Fr. v. Hummelauer's excellent remarks in favor of this literality, "Genesis" pp. 61, 62.

Terram et coelum (this is the proper order of the words, and not, as in P, *coelum et terram*), indicates from the first that the drama of this account turns primarily around this poor earth of ours, from the loam of which we, as other living things are taken,—the dust that we are and unto which we shall return. For the tone and end of the whole is as *pessimistic* as truth permits. The narrative, remarkably easy and flowing, undulating and discursive, touches with awe and shy admiration upon some of the many mysteries of this mysterious world, and interests itself in matters somewhat apart from the theme, such as the origin of the human sexes, of marriage, of clothing in its three stages (II, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25; III, 7, 21). And the story's sequences and selections aim throughout at bringing out the helplessness, the loneliness, the inner conflict, the present sinfulness of man : the very splendors of the garden of the past are dwelt upon chiefly as foils for the shadows of the Fall and Banishment ; and however real and deep we may conceive the promise for the future (III, 15), neither splendid past nor deep future do much more than add pathetic poignancy to the consciousness of the mysterious present. The earth is represented as, at first, dry and hard, requiring, for the growth and appearance of the seedlings already within it, but that do not show before man's creation, both rain and man's tillage ; just as man, who will be fashioned from it, will require so much help if he is to come to anything himself. And then Jahweh supplies both deficiencies, by causing a fountain (a mist ? **תְּאֵן**, v. 6), to arise from the ground, and next by fashioning the body of the first man from dust of the earth, and breathing a soul into his nostrils.

We miss here all description of the effect of the mist ; the writer breaks off in the midst of his sketch of the early stage of the earth in general, to pursue his real theme : the fate of man. For the Lord Himself now plants a garden of delight in the far East for man and for Himself, where, later on, He will walk in the cool of the evening (III, 8); and, in place of the mist without, we have the four-fold river watering the garden within. Here the Lord causes every kind of beautiful and delicious fruit-tree to sprout up for this first man's food ;

but still he has not all he requires, the Lord declares that it is not good for man to be alone, and as a step and sort of experiment towards such companionship, Jahweh only now fashions, from loam again, all land animals and all birds of heaven (nothing is said as to their several kinds, nor about the water-animals), and brings them before the first man, to see what he will call them, how they will impress him. By naming them all, the large domestic animals first, the man differentiates them from himself and expresses their insufficiency as companions. And only after this does Jahweh build, out of one of the sleeping man's ribs, the first woman. Throughout this narrative Jahweh appears more *anthropomorphic* and more *immanent*: He moves within the world, our world. And yet it is not this relation, nor man's relation to the outer world, it is man's relation to his own inner experiences that is here the point of interest: this interest is as *introspective, psychological*, as, in Patristic times, it was so largely in the West, with Augustine.¹

I will next take a sample of legislative triplets, in illustration partly of the peculiarities of D, but chiefly of legislative development: Exodus XX, 24-26 (E); XXVII, 1, 2; 6-8 (P); and Deuteronomy XII, 1-14; 17, 18; XXVIII, 42, 43 (D).²

Now the first of these passages is taken from the "Book of the Covenant," the first collection of Sinaitic laws given in the Pentateuch; a collection which is complete in itself, and has but this one law concerning the altar. This altar is to be built of earth (probably held together by turf, like the Roman *ara graminea*), or of unhewn stones, and is evidently not portable. It is quite simple, apparently without horns. It is to have no steps leading up to it, from motives of decency, since the sacrificer is, at the time of the registration of this law, wont, then as at other times, to wear but some loose outer garment, but no trousers or drawers. It is *an* altar; *any* altar, **זבֵן**, not

¹ For the interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis generally, see Dr. Herbert Ryle's very temperate and reverent "Early Narratives of Genesis," London, 1892; Abbé Loisy's admirably pregnant article on the same subject, "Les Etudes Bibliques," Amiens, 1894, pp. 22-40; and for the detailed application of these principles, Père Lagrange's interesting paper: "L'Innocence et le Péché," *Revue Biblique*, July, 1897.

² Appendix B. The chief points of the evidence for stages in the Mosaic legislation have been already very clearly presented to Catholics, by the Rev. Dr. van den Biesen, in the *Dublin Review*, October 1892, and January, 1893.

the altar, a *specific* altar, **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ**; and hence cannot refer, at least exclusively, to the altar of the Tabernacle, even in its primitive form. It is to be erected by any man whatsoever, wheresoever God may have specially manifested His presence; and wheresoever thus erected and sacrificed upon, God will come and bless the sacrificer; of the altar of the Tabernacle, though no doubt successively in different places, this could hardly be said, for He dwelt perennially in the Tabernacle (Exod., XXV, 8; XXIX, 45; XL, 38; II Sam., VII, 6), and hence was always at hand. Again, the choice left as to the materials seems clearly to point to simultaneous plurality. The second passage is taken from the great mass of the Priestly Code's account of the Mosaic legislation, which occurs second in the Pentateuch, and stretches, with but a break of three chapters (Exod., XXXII-XXXIV) from Exodus, c. XXV to Numbers, c. X. Here we have the altar, **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ**; and this is to be made hollow, of shittim (cedar) wood. Although probably filled with earth before use, it could not be called an altar of earth, still less of stones, of which it had none. It was to have four horns, one at each corner; these, as the highest *part* of the altar, are its most sacred *parts*: the blood of the sin-offering gets smeared on them (Lev., IV, 7); and the criminal finds sanctuary by seizing them (I Kings, I, 50; II, 28). It was to be covered over with brass, and to be portable. Exposure of the sacrificer is here provided against, not by any provisions as to the approaches to the Altar, but by the sacrificing priests having to wear drawers. The approach is traditionally supposed to have been an incline; it clearly was of such a nature as to give rise to that exposure which was precluded by the very disposition of the other altar. The third passage is taken from Deuteronomy, which, in its chapters XII to XXX, gives us the third group of Mosaic laws occurring in the Pentateuch. In these sixteen verses alone (XII, 1-14; 17, 18) there are four emphatic adjurations and combative commands as to this one point; no multiple altars, no local religious meals; all sacrifices, all such meals are to take place in Jerusalem alone (vv. 4-7; 11, 12; 13, 14; 17, 18).¹ And

¹ In vv. 10, 11 the time when such concentration will begin to be obligatory is defined as subsequent to the Israelites crossing the Jordan, inhabiting Canaan, with rest from their enemies round about, and their having a divinely appointed place, [Capital or Temple]. Well-

this is done in a tone full of geniality as between Israelites, of sympathy with social gatherings and homely religious rejoicings ; in a style characteristically flowing and hortatory, which, though continually aiming at that point, is never monotonous or formalist as in P ; and with phrases special to D : so (v. 1) *observeare ad faciendum*, occurs twenty-three times, in D only ; so *Domino Deo vestro (tuo, nostro)* over three hundred times in D, much rarer elsewhere ; so *locum quem elegerit* (*בַּחֲרָה*), vv.

4, 11, 13, 18, some twenty-four times in D, nowhere else ; *comedere*, or *laetari in conspectu Domini*, vv. 7, 12, 18, 5 and ten times in D, and there only.

Now, with the law given in the first passage, and with that alone, corresponds exactly all that is told us, throughout the Hexateuch by J and E, and by the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, up to the time of King Josiah (640-609 B. C.) II Kings, cc. XXII, XXIII, of the actual behaviors of the persons described ; indeed Asa, King of Judah (913-873 B. C.) is the first person blamed in Scripture, I Kings, XXV, 14, for not abolishing the heights. J and E both love to dwell upon the erection of altars, at the bidding of God, by the Patriarchs, and upon how these various places became and remained holy, right up to the writer's time ; so, before the Flood, with Cain and Abel; so, after it, with Noah (Gen., VIII, 22); so with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who erect altars in consequence of theophanies respectively at Sichem, (XII, 6, 7), Beersheba (XXVI, 23-35), and Bethel (XXVIII, 10-19); so with Moses who, before the Sinaitic period, erects an altar at Raphidim (Exod., XVII, 15) and joins with his father-in-law,

hausen himself points out that this rest, *manucha*, appears, if we compare with this passage II Sam., VII, 11; I Kings, V, 18, to have begun only with the times of David and Solomon, shows how this corresponds exactly with the principle of judgment enunciated by the Deuteronomic Redactor of the Books of Kings in I Kings, III, 2, 'the people sacrificed on the heights, for up to this time' [when Solomon finished the Temple, about 950 B. C.] 'there was no dwelling place built to the name of Jahweh,' a principle applied by him repeatedly in his estimate of the post-Solomonic Kings of Judah ; and declares that such a dating of a new epoch is 'in a certain sense legitimate.' [Prolegomena', ed. 1886, p. 20.] We certainly get a quite self-consistent philosophy of history, and one not untrue to the facts, as long as we are willing not to insist upon the human instruments of these divinely far-reaching changes having before them, then and for long after, other than the circumstances which at last rendered possible the concentration now so sorely required by the very spirit and fundamental object of the law ; and if we do not require them to have been acquainted with that amplification and modification of the law, with its absolute prohibition of plurality of sanctuaries, which appears, with such immediately explosive and drastic effect, in the Book of the Law, found in the Temple three hundred years later [B. C. 623].

Jethro, in a sacrificial meal (XVIII, 12); so with Balaam who erects thrice seven altars to Jahweh (Numb., XII, 1-5, 14-16, 29, 30). This practice continues throughout the period of the Judges. A theophany leads Gideon to erect an altar to Jahweh in Ophra; it stands there up to the present day, adds the writer (Judges, VI, 11-24); another document tells of a theophany which orders him to destroy the Baal-altar of his father, and to erect an altar to Jahweh (VI, 25-32); another theophany bids Manoah erect an altar (XIII, 16-23); an angel rebukes the people for not destroying the heathen altars, and they thereupon sacrifice there, at Bochim, to Jahweh (II, 5); they do so twice at Bethel (XX, 26-28; XXI, 2-4); and yet the Tabernacle appears, throughout this period, to have been at Silo (I Sam., I, 1-4). This practice continues under Saul, David, and Solomon. For though the Ark is, during Samuel's and Saul's prominence, at Kirjath-Jearim (I Sam., VII, 1, 2), and the tabernacle, probably at Nob, yet Samuel offers a holocaust at Mizpah (VII, 9), and builds himself an altar at Rama, his home (VII, 17), and he meets Saul, for the first time, at the moment when he is about to join a sacrificial meal upon some height (IX, 12-14). On Saul being made King, the people offer sacrifice at Gilgal, in Samuel's presence (XI, 15), and Saul himself, on sacrificing there, is upbraided by Samuel, not for having done so, but only because he had not awaited Samuel's arrival (XIII, 8-14). After his victory over the Philistines, Saul builds an altar to Jahweh at Aijalon (XIV, 31, 35); "then," says the writer, "he first began to build an altar." David goes to Bethlehem to be present at a family sacrifice (XX, 29). The Ark gets removed by King David from Kirjah-Jearim to Jerusalem (II Sam., VI, 1-17). Yet Absalom, several years later, asks and obtains his father's leave to go to Hebron to offer a vow-offering (XV, 7-9). And King Solomon (B. C. 933) "went to Gibeon" (from Jerusalem) to "sacrifice there, for that was the chief height; a thousand holocausts did Solomon offer upon the altar at Gibeon." And this sacrifice was pleasing to God, for it was on this occasion that "Jahweh appeared to Solomon in the night, in a dream" (I Kings, III, 4, 5). The Temple gets built and inaugurated (VI-VIII), yet divinely acceptable sacrifices con-

tinue in various places. Elijah, the greatest of the non-literary prophets (under Ahab, B. C. 876-854), "repairs the altar of Jahweh" on Mount Carmel, on the solemn occasion when he derides and slaughters the priests of Baal (III Kings, XVIII, 30); and, at Horeb, he accuses the people before the Lord in these terms: "I have been very zealous for Jahweh Zebaoth, for the children of Israel have forgotten Thy covenant, destroyed Thine altars, and slain Thy prophets with the sword," (XIX, 14).

The prophets Amos and Osee (about 760-740 B. C.) are the first to raise their voices against the worship on the heights; but it is to be carefully noted how their intense polemic is directed against various immoral abuses connected with these sacrifices, and, generally, against ritual observance of any kind being put before cleanliness of heart, but not against multiplicity of altars in itself. Yet their labors, succeeded by those of Micah and Zephaniah, and by the splendid activity of Isaiah; the great public events of the first deportation of Israelites to Assyria (734 B. C.); above all, the fall of Samaria, Jerusalem's formidable rival (722 B. C.), all increasingly prefaced, from within and from without, that complete centralization of worship which is the absorbing subject and polemical object of Deuteronomy, the Book of Law, found, under King Josiah, by the Priest Hilkia in the Temple (623 B. C.).

This brings us to our third passage, for with this exactly corresponds what we read of the King's doings, his wholesale suppression of the still most vigorous heights-worship and his concentration of all sacrifice in Jerusalem after the discovery of the book and his study of it. And his evident amazement and consternation at what was clearly quite new to him fits in well only with D, which itself presents these demands throughout with a fresh polemical point, and not with P, which but assumes throughout this unity as practically realized, or at most, in but one place belonging to Ph (Lev., XVII, 1-17), has a comparatively unemphatic direction as to this point. It is true that, prior to Josiah, it is said of Kings Asa, Joas, Amazia, Asaria, and Jotham of Juda (I, K. XV, 14; II, K. XII, 1-4; XIV, 1-4; XV, 1-4; 32-35) that "the heights indeed re-

mained unabolished ;" but all these passages, clearly Deuteronomic in style though they be, add in each case that the King in question did (otherwise) what was pleasing to the Lord throughout his life. From Josiah (d. 607) to the beginning of the Babylonish Captivity (597, 586 B. C.) we have the period of painful and violent, but most necessary, divinely provident centralization. And the position thus assigned to D as between JE and P is, upon the whole, well borne out by the literary and legal analysis of the three groups of documents. For of D's narrative portions, there are but three details which can be claimed as derived not from JE but from P¹, whilst all the rest is either clearly derived from JE, or is at least different from P. And as to the legislation, we have but carefully to go through the numerous triplets, as tabled, say, in Dr. Driver's "Deuteronomy," (1895) pp. IV-VII, to find that, whereas the legislation of JE, especially the "Book of the Covenant," is to be found again, sometimes *verbatim*, sometimes recast or expanded in D, the legislation of P stands to D either parallel (so in passages belonging to P^h), or as clearly more detailed and advanced. In but one case, the law of clean and unclean animals (Lev., XI, 2-23), is there such remarkable even verbal agreement, with D (Deut., XIV, 3-20) as to require the derivation either of the former from the latter, or that of both from an older Code. The latter will appear the more reasonable explanation, if we remember how in D there is no mention of the distinction between the Priests, the sons of Aaron and the common "Levites", so often insisted on by P; or of the Levitical cities and year of Jubilee; or of the elaborate sacrificial system of P, neither the meal offering, guilt-offering, or sin-offering, ever appearing in D; or of the great Day of Atonement, the culmination (Lev., XVI.) of P's system of sacrifice and purification (cc. I-XV). The paraenetic popular character of D can hardly alone account for all this divergence from P. Some of this must be found in a difference, if not of existence and non-existence, yet of degree of development and prominence, existent at the time of codification in the institutions referred to or enforced.

And finally, if we take the laws of P, as exemplified by our second passage, especially if we restrict ourselves to those of

¹Holzinger, l. c., p. 300.
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PJ (Exod., XXV-XXIX, Lev. I-XVI, Numb., I-X, XVI, XVIII, XIX), we shall find again that these also completely correspond to all that P tells us from the first. For these laws are no more, as is Deuteronomy, in conflict for but one altar. They simply presuppose it throughout. And thus too the narratives have this striking peculiarity,—nowhere in pre-Sinaitic times do even the Patriarchs erect altars or offer sacrifice, and that although in the Noachian laws given by P (Gen., IX, 1-3) God allows the killing of animals for food. Absolutely only one place, from the beginning of the world, is mentioned by P as the scene of a licit altar or sacrifice,—the Tent of Meeting, and that alone. To this there is but the one apparent exception of the Passover, instituted on the leaving Egypt^{xx} (Exod. XII, 1-20); but this is not a sacrifice in the strict sense, there is neither priest nor altar; and the projected ordinary sacrifice of sheep and oxen, advanced by the Jews as the excuse for the Exodus (Exod., VII, 16; X, 9), is mentioned by JE, not by P.

The reader will doubtless have noticed that, in thus comparing the legislation of the several documents of the Hexateuch with what is told us of the actual cultural history in the other books of the Bible, we have added a third class of arguments to our two previous ones, the first of which was taken from the narratives, and the second from the legislation of the Hexateuch itself. I do not see how we can refuse to call the third great argument external, as truly external as if drawn from extra-biblical literature, and if so to allow that here at least we have reached a sufficient means for testing and checking any subjectivity that may possibly have vitiated our previous analyses.

From all this, and much more that could be alleged, it would seem to follow that we have, in the Hexateuch, not only four great documents, J and E, D and P, but apparently also three successive stages of legislative development, represented by the Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy, and the Priestly Code respectively. Yet it will be well to remember, as to the legislation, with such cautious scholars as Kittel and Baudissin, that even the literary form of the older parts of the legislation of P (Ph) is sometimes simply parallel with D; whereas as to

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the substance of the generality of the laws of D and P every-
thing points to so steady a flow of tradition at the central
sanctuary from the days of Moses down to the Babylonish
captivity, and to having been there still further codified and
developed by the Priests, against the restoration under Ezra
and Nehemiah (458, 444 B. C.), that the three stages must be
taken largely, and often as but approximations, but as shift-
ings or deepening of emphasis, if we would not sacrifice solid-
ity to system.¹

Probably the most difficult point, in all this developmental question, for the Christian apologist is, not the simple admission that the book found in B. C. 623, was Deuteronomy, for this much was held by St. Jerome, *Comm. in Ezech. ad. I. 1*, and St. John Chrysostom, *Hom. 9, in 1 Cor.*; and is maintained by Abbé Vigouroux, "Manuel Biblique," 8th ed. v. II., p. 106; but that this Deuteronomy was a predominantly prophetic reformation and readaptation of previous Mosaic law, and can hardly have been composed, as we have it, before the reign of King Manasse (B. C. 698–643). Yet this point, which it seems impossible to successfully contest, may prove more acceptable if we bear in mind the following considerations: (1) There is no difficulty in holding that, from the very first, the Mosaic legislation, whilst founding a central sanctuary before the Ark, expressed a preference for this sanctuary; "the best, the first fruits of thy land, thou shalt bring to this dwelling of Jahweh, thy God," says already the Book of the Covenant (*Exod., XXIII, 19*). (2) This preference, expressed by Moses at Sinai, may have been "indicated with" still "greater emphasis by Moses in a final discourse in the plains of Moab," remarks Fr. van den Biesen² and Dr. Driver, in company with Prof. Franz Delitzsch and Oettli, considers it "highly probable that there existed the tradition, perhaps even in a written form, of such an address, to which some of the laws peculiar to Deuteronomy were attached, as those common to it and JE are attached to the legislation at Horeb."³ Thus the only two long documents

¹ It is much to be desired that Abbé Loisy's articles, "Ernest Renan, Historien d'Israël," *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, 1895–1896, should appear in book-form and in an English dress. They contain the most finely penetrating and cautious sketch of Old Testament History and Theology as yet produced by a Catholic for the modern educated reader.

² *Dublin Review*, Jan., 1893, p. 47.

³ "Introduction," ed. 1893, p. 85.

which themselves claim to have been written down by Moess (the "Book of the Covenant," Exod. XX, 23; XXIII, 23, in Exod., XXIV, 4; and Deuteronomy, I, 6, XXXI 8, 24, 26) would indeed have originally been written by him (in a simpler, partially different form), and even our present Deuteronomy would be but a reformulation of such laws, speeches and writings. (3) Moses' central and fundamental intention, the exclusive worship of Jahweh, implied from the first the sanction and authority of Moses, as transmitted to the succession of priests of the central sanctuary, for such increased stringency or modification of any of his regulations as might in course of time become simply necessary to the very evidence of this exclusive worship; especially where, as in the case of unity of sanctuary, he had, within his own lifetime, shown an increasing preference for a central sanctuary. (4) A gradual growth of the Law, across the centuries is, of itself, not less worthy of God, than its complete communication within some thirty years. Indeed such a growth, gathering up within it the varied and ever widening and deepening, divinely stimulated and divinely guided experience of priest and prophet in tempest and in calm, the rural sternness of an Amos, the statesman's vision of an Isaiah, the melting humanity of a Jeremiah, the priestly ardor and pastoral tenderness of an Ezechiel; ever meeting the new situation with a slow, unbroken stream of adaptation of old principles to new needs, has about it an impressiveness, a dramatic interest and rich pathos, at least for the historically minded, far exceeding the attractions of the old view. And the apologetic advantages of such a conception are great; they can be studied at length in such a book as Prof. Bruce's "Apologetics," Edinburgh, 1892, pp. 164-336. (5) The final difficulty, the remnant of what is, for us Westerns and Moderns, in D, and still more in P, a certain defect of historical consciousness or presentation, would seem to be best met by the consideration that we have here to do with a divine revelation and education granted to, intended for, and communicated through the minds of Orientals of from three to over two thousand years ago. The very strength of our belief in the reality of that divine guidance, and of its admirable adaptation to those men and times, would

thus make us sure beforehand of a pervading difference between their message and what we would rightly expect of a revelation addressed to and assimilated by us here and now.

Three general questions I will just touch upon, and I have done.

I. It is often assumed that all or most critics are, at best, but serious rationalists, anti-miraculous, anti-supernatural *doctrinaires*; and hence that, in so directly religious a matter as the Bible, such men cannot be other than unsafe guides. But even if we grant the alleged matter of fact, the inference would appear more plausible than true. For what have the questions of documentary sources or of legal stages to do with philosophical and religious truths? Let every word of the Hexateuch report an authentic miracle, or let there be not one such throughout, and the method for its careful study and the evidence for or against these sources and stages remain precisely the same. "It is always," says Prof. Robertson Smith, "for the interest of truth to discuss historical questions by purely historical methods, without allowing theological questions to come in till the historical analysis is complete. This indeed is the chief reason why scholars indifferent to the religious value of the Bible have often done good service by their philological and historical studies," "though no one can thoroughly understand the Bible without spiritual sympathy."¹ Nor is the alleged fact true. The men who, by universal consent, were the founders of Biblical and Hexateuchal criticism, Richard Simon and Jean Astruc, lived and died as a stainless Catholic priest and a devout Catholic layman respectively. And if, unfortunately, their principles and methods were long allowed to be worked and deflected by more or less purely Rationalist Protestants alone; if even such recent leading and brilliant scholars as Reuss, Kuennen, Wellhausen, are still largely infected with Naturalism,² yet Biblical scholarship is clearly coming back to the temper and the home of its earliest days. For, amongst non-Catholics there is an ever-increasing band of thoroughly critical scholars sensitively respectful to

¹ "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," 2d ed., p. 314.

² It is, however, only just to remember the admirable conservative criticism of Kuennen directed against Renan, Verne, and others; and the pages, full of spiritual conviction and emotion, which Wellhausen has devoted to the Prophets. See my "Church and the Bible," *Dublin Review*, April, 1896.

religion, or even full of deep faith and devotion. Can the most exacting reader find anything irreverent in the pages of Dillmann or of Baudissin, of Strack, of König, of Driver or of Herbert Ryle? Or find anywhere a more touchingly devotional spirit than in Franz Delitsch, who fought so long and bravely against our contentions and who so nobly ended by welding them into his unshaken faith, or a more fiery central conviction than in Robertson Smith, who lived and died a most painful death, full of rock-firm faith in the Old Testament Revelation and its divine fulfillment in the person of Jesus Christ? And, amongst Catholics, we have now in Abbé Loisy a rare combination of caution and courage, competence and charm, one, too, equally at home in the philological and historical niceties and in the philosophy and theology of these increasingly important questions; we have Dr. Bickell in Germany, Prof. Van Hoonacker at Louvain, Père Lagrange at Jerusalem, Drs. Robert Clarke and van den Biesen in England, not to mention others who have done and are doing good work (Old Testament work) along thoroughly critical lines.

II. Next, it is often urged that there is no stability, no unanimity among the critics: *tot homines, tot sententiae*. But here we must be on our guard against first appearances; for in this as in all other branches of human research, men do not debate on points of agreement, but on points of difference, and hence their continuous conflicts on even fresh points are quite compatible with accord, and ever increasing accord, on an ever increasing number of other points. And such stability can be found here. Jean Astruc, 1793, attributed, in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, 137 verses to his document A (our P).¹ I have carefully compared his analysis with that given in Kautzsch's German Bible, 1896, and find that 110½ of these verses are still attributed to P; that is, 140 years and more of ceaseless criticism have left over four-fifths of his conclusions, on this his most important point, intact. Theodor Nöldeke, in his "Untersuchungen," (1868, pp. 143, 144) attempted anew to sift out the passages belonging to the "Grundschrift," (our P) from the other documents. Now "out of about 350 complete verses in Genesis assigned by him to this document, only 30 are attributed by recent

¹ See the table given by Cornill, "Einführung in das Alte Testament," 1891, p. 18.

critics to other documents (chiefly J). In other words, nearly 30 years of searching investigation leave fully nine-tenths of the results previously achieved unshaken in this the most important department of the field ?¹ The reader will have noted the stability, and growing stability. As to unanimity, let the reader go through Holzinger's tables on the analysis of the documents, in which he gives, for each verse of the Hexateuch the analyses of the five contemporary, mutually independent specialists, Dillmann, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Budde, Cornill; and he will quickly find that they are here, although otherwise so different, in remarkable substantial agreement. Or let him take Dr. Brigg's list² of 45 living German, 10 French, 6 Dutch, 22 British and 20 American scholars, who are all essentially agreed as to the critical analysis of the Hexateuch; and then note there, how Prof. Green, in attempting a rival list of anti-critics, has been able, on his side, to produce the names of but four professional Old Testament scholars: four against one hundred and three! And so also as regards the types and stages of the Law. Here again there is practical unanimity as to the three types of the Law: Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy, Priestly Code; as to the first of these being the most primitive type: and as to Deuteronomy, in its present form, being not older than the reign of Manasse. The battle is here confined to the question as to the correct succession and relationship between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, and as to the dates of the latter.

III. Last, we may be asked to produce some other case where, what the critics declare to have happened in the Hexateuch, has undeniably taken place. As to this, let the reader note three things. First, the Bible-library still includes several instances of still separate parallel books: there are the books of Samuel and Kings on the one hand, and the books of Chronicles on the other; there are the 1st and 2d book of Maccabees; there are the four Gospels. If the divergences of style and detail, of point of view, of doctrinal or ritual development, get overlooked in the Hexateuch because occurring in different documents there welded into one consecutive narrative, here, on

¹ Critical Review, Edinburg, pp. 299, 300.

² The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, ed. 1897, p. 144.

the contrary, they are apt to escape the reader because they occur in separate books: it is only on comparing the Hexateuch documents, when separated off, as in Fripp's Composition of the Book of Genesis (London, 1892), with say the Kings and Chronicles texts, when put side by side, as in Girdlestone's "Deutographs" (Oxford, 1894), that the full similarity of the phenomena can be rightly appraised. Next, such originally separate documents or books, of different authors, schools or ages, have, in religious literature especially, been repeatedly worked up into one common text. So with the fusion of the two texts of the Gallican and Roman rites in the later Roman liturgical books.¹ So with the so-called "Apostolic Constitutions," which Abbé Duchesne would call "The Egyptian Apostolic Constitutions,"² and which is made up of at least three, or according to Prof. Harnack, of four anterior documents: the Didaché, the Epistle of Barnabas, and two other treatises, the whole joined together by a Redactor.³ Finally, such compilations have, at times, been effected on parallel books or texts of Scripture. So with the Books of Chronicles which consist largely of a still quite plainly traceable fusion of texts still separately extant in our books of Samuel and Kings, and of otherwise lost texts or information derived from elsewhere by the Redactor, the Chronicler himself.⁴ So also with the *Dia-tessaron* of Tatian, a parallel worthy of careful consideration. This harmony, made by Tatian, possibly a Syrian or even Greek, but "born," as he himself says, "in the land of the Assyrians," a convert from heathenism, and, later on, a Valentinian Gnostic, was originally composed probably in Greek, possibly in Syriac, somewhere between 160 and 180 A. D.⁵ If originally Greek, it must at once have been translated into Syriac, for throughout the third century the work was, throughout large stretches of Syrian Church territory, especially in Edessa, the only Gospel text in use; indeed S. Ephrem Syrus wrote a commentary to it as late as 360-370 A. D., and even Theodoret of Cyrus (d. about 458) had in many

¹ See Abbé Duchesne's "Origines du Culte Chrétien," 2d ed., *passim*.

² "Altchristliche Literatur," II. 1, p. 532.

³ *Bulletin Critique*, 1886, p. 361.

⁴ See the detailed proof of this in Prof. Curtiss's excellent article: "Style as an element in determining the authorship of Old Testament documents." *American Journal of Theology*, 1897, pp. 312-327.

⁵ Bardehewer's "Patrologie," 1894, pp. 99-102.

places to introduce for the first time the four separate canonical Gospels.¹ And Bishop Victor of Capua (d. 554), in causing a Latin Gospel harmony to be copied, in lieu of the separate Gospels, into the Latin New Testament, produced under his supervision and still extant as the *Codex Fuldensis*, no doubt rightly held this Latin harmony (composed about 500 A. D.) to be based upon Tatian's work.

Now, if we compare the long-lived composite text of Tatian, which we now actually possess, by means of the later *Codex*, still more by means of S. Ephrem's Commentary, above all through an Arabic translation of the Harmony itself,² with the composite text of the Hexateuch, as presented to us by the critics, the following suggestive parallel presents itself, unforced, unsought. For the Hexateuch, the critics maintain that four documents, of three groups of dates and temper, were worked up by a Redactor into a Harmony, a *Diatessaron*; that this Harmony was effected, say fifty years after the completion of the last document, by using this last document (P) as the *Grundschrift*, as the chronological and general framework of the whole, and by breaking up the documents into fragments large and small, retaining and putting alongside of each other such doublets and triplets as at all varied from each other, so as to put the reader in possession of all the facts and all the interpretations of them.

For the *Diatessaron*, we all now know that Tatian worked up the four separate Gospels, of three groups of dates and school, SS. Mark and Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, into a Harmony, some 60 to 80 years after the composition of the last, by using this last Gospel as his *Grundschrift*, as his chronological and general framework, and by breaking up, oftener than the Redactor of the Hexateuch, his documents into small fragments; since his "plan, adopted throughout, was inclusive, not exclusive," "a statement from one Gospel is occasionally immediately followed by a nearly identical statement from another," "he did not attempt a choice between different reports in different Gospels, but inserted all that Jesus was reported to have said."³

¹ Theodereti Haeret. Fabul. Compend., I. 20. Harnack's "Altchr. Litteratur," II. 1, p. 289.

² Published in Arabic and Latin, by Monsignor Clasea, Rome, 1888.

³ "The Earliest Life of Christ" by Hill, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 37.

For more detailed comparison, I give two specially composite passages, the first, the taking of Jericho, Joshua VI, 6-27, from Haupt's Rainbow Bible, the second, the Last Supper, from Tatian's *Diatessaron*, XLV, 10-18.¹ Let the reader distinctly understand, that I do not by this intend to endorse the analysis of this or of many other similarly intricate passages of the Hexateuch as finally established or even as absolutely established. I but aim at showing that, even in such complex, unfavorable cases, the general conception of the critics is not unreasonable. The particular passage given from Tatian is simpler than that from the Hexateuch only in this, that it is all but untouched by the Redactor. But such work can be found elsewhere in Tatian: omissions in XI, 10; 44; XII, 19; XXV, 17; XXXIII, 8; XXXIV, 11, 15, 19; additions: X, 14; XVIII, 3; modifications: III, 1; XII, 49.

FRIEDRICH VON HUGEL.

¹Appendix C.

APPENDICES.

- A. Two simple Narrative Texts compared, from *P* and *J*.
- B. Three simple Legislative Texts compared, from *E*, *D* and *P*.
- C. A composite Text of the Hexateuch compared with a composite Text of Tatian's Diatessaron.

In the Hexateuch Texts :

All parts belonging to the Elohist (Ephraemite), *E*, are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to the Jahvist (Jehovist), J, are printed in this type.

ALL PARTS BELONGING TO THE DEUTERONOMIST, D, ARE PRINTED IN THIS TYPE.

All parts belonging to the Priestly Code, *P*, are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to the final Redactor, R, are printed in this type.

In the Diatessaron Text :

All parts belonging to St. Mark are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to St. Matthew are printed in this type.

ALL PARTS BELONGING TO ST. LUKE ARE PRINTED IN THIS TYPE.

All parts belonging to St. John are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to the Redactor, Tatian, are printed in this type.

All the Hexateuch Texts are given in the Latin of the Clementine Vulgate (ed. Vercellone Rome, 1861), with but such modifications as appeared necessary to more fully bring out the identity or difference of the words of the Hebrew original ; the additions required by the Hebrew or LXX have been bracketed.

In Appendix *C*, I have followed, for the Hexateuch passage, the analysis of W. H. Bennett's "Book of Joshua" (in Haupt's "Rainbow" Bible), 1895 ; for the Diatessaron passage, I have given the translation and analysis of Mgr. Ciasca's edition, Rome, 1888.

(1) *Genesis I, 1-II, 4^a (P.)*

In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi; et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas. I 1.2

Dixitque Deus: "Fiat lux." Et facta est lux. Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona. Et divisit (Deus) lucem a tenebris. Appellavitque lucem "Diem," et tenebras (appellavit) "Noctem." Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane, dies unus. Dixitque Deus: "Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum, et dividat aquas ab aquis." Et factum est ita. Et fecit Deus firmamentum, divisitque aquas, quae erant sub firmamento, ab his quae erant super firmamentum. Appellavitque Deus firmamentum "Coelum." Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane, dies secundus. Dixitque Deus: "Congregentur aquae, quae sub coelo sunt, in locum unum, et appareat arida." Et factum est ita. Appellavitque Deus aridam "Terram," et congregations aquarum appellavit "Maria." Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Dixitque (Deus): "Viride terra viridum—herbam seminante semen, et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum juxta genus suum, cujus semen in semetipso—super terram." Et factum est ita. Et protulit terra viridum, herbam seminante semen juxta genus suum, lignumque faciens fructum, cuius semen in semetipso secundum speciem suam. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane, dies tertius. Dixitque Deus: "Fiant lumina in firmamento coeli ut dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et tempora, et dies et annos, et sint ut luminaria in firmamento coeli ut illuminent terram." Et factum est ita. Et fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare majus, ut præcesset diel, et luminare minus, ut præcesset nocti; et stellas. Posuitque eas in firmamento coeli, ut lucerent super terram et præcessent diel et nocti, et dividenter lucem ac tenebras. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane dies quartus. Dixitque Deus: "Pullulent aquae pullulos, animas viventes; et volatile volet super terram, sub firmamento coeli." (Et factum est ita). Creavitque Deus cete grandia, et omnem animam viventem atque repente quam pululaverant aquae juxta genera sua; et omne volatile juxta genus suum. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Benedixitque eis Deus, dicens: "Fructificate et multiplicamini, et replete aquas maris; avesque multiplicentur super terram." Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane, dies quintus. Dixitque Deus: "Proferat terra animam viventem juxta genus suum, jumenta, et reptilia, et bestias terrae juxta genera sua." Et factum est ita. Et fecit Deus bestias terrae juxta genera sua, et jumenta juxta genera sua, et omne reptile terrae juxta genus suum. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Dixitque Deus: "Faciamus homines ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et dominent piscibus maris, et volatilibus coeli, et jumentis, et omnibus bestiis, et omni reptili regenti super terram." Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam, ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, masculum et feminam creavit eos. Benedixitque eis Deus et dixit eis: "Fructificate et multiplicamini et replete terram, et subjicite eam; et dominamini piscibus maris, et volatilibus coeli, et omnibus animalibus pullulantibus super terram." Dixitque Deus: "Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam seminante semen quae est super faciem omnis terrae, et omnia ligna quae habent fructum lignorum seminante semen,—vobis erit in escam. Sed omnibus bestiis terrae, et omni volatili coeli, et omni quod repet super terram, (omni) in quo est anima vivens, (dedi) omne viridum herbae in escam." Et factum est ita. Et vidit Deus omne quod fecerat quod esset valde bonum. Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane, dies sextus.

Sic perfecti sunt coeli et terra, et omnis militia eorum. Perfectique Deus die septimo opus suum quod fecerat, et requievit die septimo ab omni opere suo quod fecerat. Benedixitque die septimo et sanctificavit eum, quia in ipso requievit ab omni opere suo quod creavit Deus ut faceret.

Istae sunt generationes coeli et terrae, quando creati sunt.^{4a} III 1.2

(2) *Genesis II, 4^b - 25 (J).*

^{4^b 5} *In die quo fecit Dominus Deus terram et coelum - et omne virgultum agri nondum ortum erat in terra, omnisque herba agri nondum germinaverat, non enim pluerat Dominus Deus super terram, et homo non erat qui operaretur humum; sed fons ascendebat e terra, irrigans omnem faciem terrae, - formavit Dominus Deus hominem ex pulvere de humo, et inspiravit in nares ejus spiraculum vitae, et factus est homo in animam viventem.*

⁸ *Plantavitque Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis in Oriente, et posuit ibi
9 hominem quem formaverat. Fecitque Dominus Deus germinare de terra omne
10 lignum pulchrum ad videndum et suave ad vescendum, et lignum vitae in medio
paradisi, lignumque scientiae boni et mali. Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco vo-
11 luptatis ad irrigandum paradisum, qui in deinceps dividitur in quattuor capita. Nomen
12 uni, Pison: ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Havilath, ubi aurum; et aurum
13 terrae illius optimum est; ibi invenitur bdelium et lapis onychinus. Et nomen
14 fluvii secundi Gihon, ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Aethiopiam. Et nomen
fluminis tertii, Hiddekel, ipse est qui vadit in oriente Assyria. Et fluvius quar-
15 tus, ipse est Euphrates. Tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem, et posuit eum in
16 paradiiso voluptatis, ut operaretur et custodiret illum. Praecepitque Dominus
17 Deus homini dicens: "Ex omni ligno paradisi poteris concedere; de ligno autem
scientiae boni et mali ne concedas, in quocumque enim die comederis de eo, morte
morieris."*

¹⁸ *Dixitque Dominus Deus: "Non est bonus esse hominem solum; faciamus
ei adjutorium simile sibi." Et formavit Dominus Deus de humo omnia animantia
agri et omnia volatilia coeli, et adduxit ea ad hominem, ut videret quid vocaret ea;
et omne quod vocavit homo eas, animas viventes, ipsum est nomen earum. Appel-
lavitque homo nominibus omnia jumenta et omnia volatilia coeli et omnes bestias
agri; homini vero non inveniebatur adjutor similis ei. Inmisit ergo Dominus
Deus soporem in hominem; cumque obdormisset, tulit unam de costis eius, et
replevit carnem pro ea. Et aedificavit Dominus Deus costam quam tulerat de
homine in mulierem; et adduxit eam ad hominem. Dixitque homo: "Haec nunc,
os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea; haec vocabitur virago, quia de viro
sumpta est." Quamobrem relinquet vir patrem suum et matrem suam, et adhae-
redit viragini (uxori) sua, et erunt duo in carnem unam. Erat autem uterque
nudus, homo et uxor ejus, et non erubescabant.*

(1) *Exodus XX, 24-26 (E).*

Altare de humo facies mihi, et sacrificabis super eo holocausta 24
tua et pacifica tua, oves tuas et boves tuos; in omni loco in quo effi-
ciam memoriam nominis mei, veniam ad te et benedicam tibi.

Quod si altare lapideum facies mihi, non aedificabis illud de sectis 25
lapidibus; si enim levaveris cultrum super eo, polluetur.

Non ascendes per gradus ad altare meum, ne reveletur turpitudo 26
tua ante eum.

(2) *Deuteronomy XII, 1-14; 17, 18 (D).*

HAEC SUNT STATUTA ET JUDICIA QUAES OBSERVABITIS AD FACIENDUM, IN TERRA QUAM DOMINUS DEUS PATRUM TUORUM DATURUS EST TIBI UT POSSIDEAS EAM, CUNCTIS DIEBUS QUIBUS SUPER HUMUM EJUS GRADIERIS

2 FUNDITIS DELEBITIS OMNIA LOCA IN QUIBUS GENTES QUAS DEPELLETIS COLUKRUNT
DEOS SUOS SUPER MONTES EXCELOS, ET SUPER COLLES, ET SUPER OMNE LIGNUM VIRIDUM.
3 EVERITE ARAS EORUM, ET CONFRINGITE STELAS EORUM, ET LUCOS EORUM COMBURETIS
IONE, ET IDOLA DEORUM EORUM COMMUNIETIS, ET DELEBITIS NOMINA EORUM DE LOCIS ISTIS.
4.5 NON FACIETIS MIC DOMINO DEO VESTRO, SED (SOLUM) AD LOCUM QUEN ELEGERIT DOMINUS DEUS VESTER DE CUNCTIS TRIBUBUS VESTRIS, UT PONAT NOMEN SUUM IBI ET FACIAT
6 HABITARE ILLIC, ADEUNDO VENIETIS ET IBIS ILLUC; ET OFFERETIS IN LOCO ILLIO HOLOCAUSTA
VESTRA ET VICTIMAS VESTRAS ET DECIMAS VESTRAS ET PRIMITIAS MANUM VESTRARUM, ET
7 VOTA VESTRA ET DENARIA VESTRA ET PRIMOGENITA BOUM VESTRORUM ET OVIUM VESTRARUM;
8 ET COMEDETIS IDI IX CONСПETU DOMINI DEI VESTRI, ET LAETABIMINI SUPER CUNCTA QUAES
ACQUISIVERUNT MANUS VESTRAE, VOS ET DOMUS VESTRAE, IN QUIBUS BENEDIXERIT TIBI
DOMINUS DEUS TUUS.

9 NON FACIES (TUSC) SECUNDUM OMNE QUOD FACIMUS HODIE, SINGULI OMNE QUOD SIBI
10 RECTUM VIDETUR, NAM ADHUC NON VENISTIS AD REQUIEM QUAM DOMINUS DEUS TUUS
DATURUS EST TIBI. ET TRANSIBITIS JORDANEM, ET HABITABITIS IN TERRA QUAM DOMINUS
DEUS VESTER DATURUS EST VOBIS IN POSSESSIONEM; ET FACIET UT REQUIESCATIS A CUNCTIS
11 HOSTIBUS VESTRIS PER CIRCUITUM, ET HABITABITIS TUTO: TUNC ERIT UT IN LOCUM QUEN
ELEGERIT DOMINUS DEUS VESTER UT SIT NOMEN EJUS IN EO, IN EUM (SOLUM) OMNIA QUAES
PRAECIPPIO CONFERETIS, HOLOCAUSTA, VESTRA ET HOSTIAS VESTRAS ET DECIMAS VESTRAS ET
PRIMITIAS MANUM VESTRARUM, ET OMNE ELECTUM VOTORUM VESTRORUM QUAES VOVERITIS
12 DOMINO, ET LAETABIMINI IN CONСПETU DOMINI DEI VESTRI, VOS ET FILII VESTRI ET FILIAE
VESTRAE, SERVI VESTRI ET FAMULAE VESTRAE, ET LEVITES QUI EST IN OPPIDIS VESTRIS QUA
NON EST EI NEC PARS NEC POSSESSIO INTER VOS.

13.14 CAVE TIBI NE OFFERAS HOLOCAUSTA TUA IN OMNI LOCO QUEM VIDERIS; SED (SOLUM)
IN LOCO QUEN ELEGERIT DOMINUS IN UNA TRIBUUM TUARUM ILLIC OFFERES HOLOCAUSTA
17 TUA ET ILLIC FACIES QUAECUMQUE PRAECIPPIO TIBI. NON POTERIS COMEDERE IN OPPIDIS
TUIS DECIMAM FRUMENTI TUI ET VINI TUI ET OLII TUI, ET PRIMOGENITA ARMENTORUM TUORUM
ET FECORUM TUORUM, ET OMNIA VOTA QUAES VOVERIS, ET OBLATA TUA, ET PRIMITIAS
18 MANUM TUARUM; SED (SOLUM) CORAM DOMINO DEO TUO COMEDES EA IN LOCU QUEN ELEGIT
DOMINUS DEUS TUUS, TU ET FILIUS TUUS ET FILIA TUA, ET SERVUS TUUS ET FAMULA TUA,
ET LEVITES QUI EST IN OPPIDIS TUIS; ET LAETABERIS CORAM DOMINO DEO TUO, IN CUNCTIS
QUAE ACQUISISTI.

(3) *Exodus XXVII, 1, 2, 4, 6. XXVIII, 42, 43 (P).*

1 Et facies altare de lignis sittim, quinque cubitos in longitudinem et
quinque cubitos in latitudinem, quadratum erit altare, et tres cubitos in
2 altitudinem. Et efficies ut sint cornua sua ad quattuor angulos suos, et
4 unum erunt cum eo cornua sua; et operies eum aere. Et facies ei craticulam,
in modum retis, aeneam; et facies ad craticulam quattuor annulos, ad quat-
6 tuor angulos ejus. Et facies vectes altaris, vectes de lignis sittim, et operies
7 eos aere, et induces hos vectes per annulos, et erunt vectes ad duo latera
8 altaris, ad portandum eum. Caveum facies eum.

8.2 Et facies (Aharon et filiis ejus) feminalia linea, ut operient carnem.
43 turpitudinis; erunt a renibus usque ad femora; et erunt super Aharon et
filios ejus quando ingredientur tabernaculum testimonii, vel quando appro-
pinquant ad altare ut ministrent in sanctuario, ne portent culpam et mo-
riantur.

(1) *Josue VI, 15-27 (the Taking of Jericho). E, J, D, and R.*

Die autem septimo, diluculo consurgentes, circuierunt urbem, sicut dispositum erat, septies. Solum hac die circuierunt civitatem septies. Cumque septimo circuito clangerunt buccinis sacerdotes, dixit Josue ad omnem Israel: "Vociferamini: tradidit enim vobis Dominus civitatem; sitque civitas haec anathema, et omnia quae in ea sunt, Domino. SOLA RAHAB MERET IХ VIVAT CUM UNIVERSIS, QUI CUM EA IN DOMO SUNT; ABSCONDITIS ENIM NUNTIOS QUOS DIREXIMUS. Vos autem cavete ne de his quae p�cepta sunt quippiam contingatis, et sitis praevaricationis rei, et omnia castra Israel sub peccato sint atque turbentur. Quidquid autem auri et argenti fuerit, et vasorum aeneorum, ac ferri, Domino consecretur, depositum in thesauris ejus." Igitur omni populo vociferante et clangentibus tubis, postquam in aures multitudinis vox sonitusque increpuit, muri illico corruerunt; et ascendit unusquisque per locum qui contra se erat, coperuntque civitatem. Et interfecerunt omnia quae erant in ea, a viro usque ad mulierem, ab infante usque ad senem. Boves quoque et oves et asinos in ore gladii percusserunt.

Duobus autem viris, qui exploratores missi fuerant, dixit Josue: "Ingredimini domum mulieris meretricis, et producite eam et omnia quae illius sunt, sicut illi juramento firmastis." Ingressique juvenes, eduxerunt Rahab et parentes ejus, fratres quoque et cunctam supplicitem ac cognationem illius, et extra castra Israel manere fecerunt. Urbem autem et omnia quae erant in ea, succederunt; absque auro et argento et vasis aeneis ac ferro quae in aerarium Domini consecrarentur. Rahab vero meretricem et domum patris ejus et omnia quae habebat, fecit Josue vivere, et habitaverunt in medio Israel usque in praesentem diem; eo quod absconderit nuntios, quos miserat ut explorarent Jericho.

In tempore illo imprecatus est Josue, dicens: "Maledictus vir coram Domino, qui suscitaverit et aedificaverit civitatem Jericho. In primogenito suo fundamenta illius jaciat, et in novissimo liberorum ponat portas ejus."

FUIT ERGO DOMINUS CUM JOSUE, ET NOMEN EJUS VULGATUM EST IN OMNI TERRA. 27

AND OF TATIAN COMPARED

(2) Tatian's *Diatessaron* XLV, 10-28 (the Last supper.).

Mc. Mtt., Lke, John.

10 Dixit autem Jesus: "Nunc clarificabitur Filius hominis, et Deus clari-
11 fificabitur in eo; et si Deus clarificabitur in eo, Deus etiam clarificabit eum
12 in semetipso; et continuo clarificabit eum. **Et manducantibus illis, accepit**
13 *Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait illis: "Acci-*
14 *pite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum."* **Et accepto calice, gratias agens**
15 *benedixit, deditque eis, et ait: "Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes;" et bibe-*
16 *runt ex illo omnes. Et ait illis: "Hic est sanguis meus, novum testamentum,*
17 *pro multis effusus in remissionem peccatorum. Dico vobis, non bibam amodo de*
18 *hoc succo vitis usque in diem quo illum bibam vobiscum novum in regno Dei;*
19 *et sic facite in meam commemorationem."* Ait autem Jesus Simon: "SIMON, ECCE
20 SATANAS EXPETIVIT, UT CIBRARET VOS SICUT TRITICUM. EGO AUTEM ROGAVI PRO TE, UT
21 NON DEFICIAT FIDES TUA; ET TU QUOQUE, ALIQDANDO CONVERSUS, CONFIRMA FRATRES TUOS.
22 Filii mei, adhuc modicum vobiscum sum. Quaeretis me, et, sicut dixi Iude-
23 daci, quo ego vado, vos non potestis venire, et vobis dico modo. Mandatum
24 novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem; et, sicut ego dilexi vos, sic et vos
25 diligite alterutrum. In hoc cognoscent omnes quia discipuli mei estis, si
26 dilectionem habueritis ad invicem." Dixit ei Simon Cephas: "Domine, quo
27 vadis?" Respondit Jesus et dixit illi: "Quo ego vado, tu non potes me modo
28 equi; venies autem postea."

29 *Tunc dixit illis Jesus: "Omnes vos derelinquetis me in ista nocte; scriptum*
30 *est: Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis. Post autem resurrectionem*
31 *meam, praecedam vos in Galilaeam."* Respondit Simon Cephas, et ait illi: "Do-
32 mine, si omnes deficerint a te, ego nunquam a te deficiam, EGO TECUM PARATUS
33 SUM AD CARCEREM ET AD MORTEM, et animam meam pro te ponere." Dixit ei
34 Jesus: "Animam tuam pro me pones? Amen, amen dico tibi, quia tu hodie
35 in nocte hac, priusquam gallus bis cantaverit, TER ABNEGES NOSSE ME." At
36 Cephas amplius loquebatur: "Et si venerim tecum ad mortem, non
37 te negabo, Domine." Similiter autem et omnes discipuli dixerunt.

EUROPEAN CONGRESSES OF 1897.

If we were to add another phrase to the long list of epithets which writers have employed to characterize our age, we might say that we live in an era of congresses. National and international in composition and scope, the effect of a deeper interest in the study of religious, moral, social, scientific, economic and political questions, they promise enduring results for the progress of human knowledge. As their value is not entirely beyond dispute, some observations on those held in Europe last summer, made by one who had the privilege of attending some of them, may not be without interest.

There are those who claim that a scientific congress means merely a pleasant voyage, invitations to banquets, parades and the like. According to this view, one can not expect profound treatment of pressing problems nor wise suggestions for their solution. We are far from denying that there are drawbacks, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the congresses in question respond to a legitimate aspiration of our time or that they have done much good. The elimination of the narrow national spirit from a science, contact of eminent men with one another, exchange of views on the great movements of the time, resolutions drafted—all these results are valuable for the progress of science and the adjustment of scientific questions of international interest. Proof of what congresses have done and what they may do, is to be found in the literature to which they have given rise. We review briefly some of the congresses held in Europe last summer.

A. SCIENTIFIC CONGRESSES.

1. THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS OF CATHOLICS.—This Congress was held at Friburg, Switzerland, August 16–20.

The institution of those congresses is due to two French priests, Mgr. Duilhé de St. Projet and Mgr. D'Hulst, both of whom are well known by their writings and by their work for

higher education. The former was rector of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, the latter was rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, both remaining actively interested in educational work till their deaths.

The work of these congresses includes most branches of human knowledge. Distinct sections are devoted to Religion; Philosophy; Jurisprudence, Economics, Social Science; History; Philology; Mathematics; Natural Sciences; Biology and Medicine; Christian Art. Each section is practically a congress in itself. Theology alone was omitted, but refused admission by the door, it seems to have entered through the window. It appeared in one form or another in the earlier congresses, and at the last one it took the form of Exegesis.

The first two congresses were held at Paris, the third at Brussels. France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy, England and America were all represented at the last one. Dr. Shahan and Dr. DeSaussure, of the Catholic University of Washington, were elected vice presidents of the historical and mathematical sections respectively.

Without doubt, men of no great scientific authority, as well as those who are really eminent, appear at such gatherings. The work of preparation is extremely difficult, while organization and direction require great prudence and tact. But such things offer no problem which time and wisdom may not easily solve.

The reports of the Friburg Congress have not yet appeared. Aside from the verbal accounts of those who attended, and the reports in the newspapers of the time, we have as yet only the more or less incomplete notices which were published in the following magazines: *Revue des questions scientifiques*, October, 1897; *Revue Néo-scholastique*, October, 1897; *Revue Thomiste*, September, 1897; *Etudes Religieuses*, September 20, 1897; *Revue de l'Enseignement Supérieur*, October, 1897; *Rivista Internazionale*, October, 1897; *Revue de Lille*, October-November, 1897; *Catholic World*, December, 1897. Most of the articles here referred to were written by participators in the Congress.

It is gratifying to note that one and all, they have words of high appreciation for the serious character of the work done

and for the share which the University of Friburg had in the preparations for the Congress. In the Brussels Congress, Philosophy and History seemed to absorb the most attention, while at the last one, Exegesis and Social Science, the latter in its practical aspects, seemed to assert themselves more particularly. One can not help noticing the spirit of scientific liberty and the healthy democratic ideas which marked the work of this Congress throughout.

The next Congress will be held at Munich in 1901, preparations for which are under the direction of Baron Von Hertling. To insure the greatest measure of success, we beg to suggest that a commission make an exhaustive study of the preceding congresses and report at the opening session. Another commission should study thoroughly the actual conditions of thought and indicate just where it would be wisest to direct Catholic scientists to pursue their labors. The questions for discussion in the sections should be carefully determined; papers to be read should be printed and distributed before the sessions. We think too, that higher pedagogics should receive some attention, and that it would be worth while to bring about an international organization of Catholic Universities for the purpose of undertaking coöperative work in the cause of science.

2. CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS SCIENCES.—This Congress, held at Stockholm August 31 to September 4, 1897, was not a parliament of religions such as was held in Chicago, but a gathering of those who are interested in the study of religions. Three classes of questions were treated: (a) The general problems; (b) Problems of Protestant Christianity as dominant in the northern countries; (c) Comparative religions. On the last named there appeared but one paper. Though the Congress was intended to be international, it was practically Scandinavian. Of the three hundred delegates who took part in the deliberations, there were but twenty-five to represent Germany, France, England, and Russia. Yet in that small number there were well-known men, such as Max Müller, of Oxford, Chantereine de la Saussaye, of Amsterdam, Bonnet-Maury, Sabatier of Paris, and Meyer of Bonn.

As far as we know, the official report has not yet appeared. However, interesting accounts may be found in *Le Temps*

(September 8th) of Paris; *La Revue des Religions* (September-October, 1897). M. Sabatier has published his contribution to the Congress under the title "Sur la Religion et la Culture Moderne" (Fischbaker, Paris). A portion of the work is devoted to Catholicism, but, unfortunately, the Catholicism which the author combats is far from the historical reality.

3. THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.—This Congress, held at Paris September 5-12, 1897, was a notable gathering on account of the number who participated, the papers presented, and the revision of the statutes of the association. The work of the Congress fell under seven sections: Languages and Archæology of the far Orient (China, Japan, Indo-China, Malacca); of the Musselmen; of the Semitic peoples (Arameans, Hebrews, Phœnicians, Ethiopians) and Assyriology; of Egypt and Africa; Relations between Greece and the East; Ethnography and Folk-lore.

The report of the Congress has not yet been published, but an interesting article on it from the pen of Jean Réville may be found in the *Revue des Religions* (September-October, 1897.)

4. CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY.—This Congress was held at Paris July 21-24, 1897.

In 1893 M. René Worms founded the Institute at Paris. The membership is limited to one hundred, yet it has shown a remarkable vitality in publishing already a review, a series of annals, a library, and in having held three congresses. There were but twenty-five delegates present at the last one, prominent among them being MM. Worms, Tarde, Novicow, Lilienfeld, Espinas, Garofalo and Achille Loria. The chief topic of discussion was the organic concept of society. The theory was strongly supported by its well-known defenders, Novicow and Lilienfeld and opposed with great vigor by Tarde, Stein and deKrauz. The opponents of the theory seemed to have the best of the argument. The report has not yet appeared, but a fair opinion of the work of the Congress may be formed from the articles bearing on it in the following magazines: *Revue de l'Enseignement Supérieur*, September, 1897, by M. Tarde; *Revue Néo-scolastique*, October, 1897, by M. Crahay; *Annals of the American Academy*, January, 1898, by M. Worms.

5. INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CONGRESS, Moscow, August 20-26.—This Congress, the eleventh of its kind, was attended by no less than 7,600 members. This great number, if we may believe M. O. Lourie, (*Revue Philosophique*, February, 1898), "did not do much to advance contemporary science, but it rather furnished to psychology an additional proof of the intellectual inferiority of multitudes." Nevertheless there were some interesting papers presented, notably one by Virchow on the continuity of life as the basis of the biological conception; one by Bernheim on the relations of hypnotism and suggestion to mental disease, and one by Lambroso on the new applications of psychiatry.

6. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF NEUROLOGY, PSYCHIATRY, MEDICAL ELECTRICITY AND HYPNOLOGY.—The most interesting discussion of this Congress which convened at Brussels, September 14-19, was on criminal suggestion. Its result was substantially identical with the opinion expressed by Dr. Bramwell, of London, that less stress will be hereafter laid on the question of mental automatism of those who are hypnotized; and mere laboratory crimes will not be cited to support that theory, unless a consistent effort to discover the real condition of the patient by questioning him, be made by the operator. The idea of Dr. Bramwell is supplemented by some wise suggestions from Mgr. Mercier, of Louvain, who wrote on this phase of the Congress in the *Revue Neo-scholastique*, October, 1897. Two distinct points should be brought out. First, does the hypnotized person act as a free agent, or does he show by his conduct that he is entirely passive? Secondly, has the hypnotized person consciousness that he acts as a free agent or that he does not so act?

The work of the Congress is of particular value for the philosopher and the theologian as well as for the physician. The full report has not yet appeared.

7. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LEGAL MEDICINE.—The work of this congress, held at Brussels, August 3-7, touched on many questions of the greatest interest, such as the responsibility of an accused person, the determination of the degree of responsibility, the care of insane criminals and the relation of hypnotism to crime. As regards the last named, the dis-

cussion brought out clearly the need of circumspection in admitting hypnotism as an element in crime, though the necessity of taking it into consideration was generally admitted.

8. **CONGRESS OF GERMAN NATURALISTS.**—No detailed information is available to us concerning this congress, held at Brunswick, in Germany, except that it embraced 33 sections, the last, of Frankfort, having had but 30. The three added were Anthropology and Ethnology; Geodesy and Cartography; Scientific Photography.

9. **INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY CONFERENCE.**—The work that this Congress did in London, July 17-23, was a continuation of the work begun by the first and only preceding Conference held in 1877.

10. **INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONFERENCE.**—The report of the work of this conference, held at Brussels, August 2-4, is published in the *Bulletin de l'Institut International de Bibliographie*, second year. It gives the text of the resolutions in three languages, and contains besides a summary of the deliberations and some of the papers discussed.

The International Institute of Bibliography, which brought about this conference, organized at the Brussels Exposition, a general exhibit of Bibliology (history of books), Bibliothecomy (preservation of books), and Bibliography (description and classification.)

11. **CONGRESS OF LEARNED SOCIETIES OF PARIS AND THE DEPARTMENTS.**—This Congress, annually held at Paris after Easter, is divided into many sections. We have as yet only the report of the section of Sciences.

12. Among the Congresses of Archæology held, we note two in particular; that of Nimes, May 18-24, and that of Mechlin.

13. The Congress of German Historians, held at Innsbruck, was remarkable. We have, unfortunately, only the meagre account to be found in the *Revue Historique*, November-December, 1897. From that account, however, we learn two interesting details. The question of free access to archives was discussed. Mr. Prutz, of Konigsberg, reading a paper on the desiderata of historians, drew some very advanced conclusions, which were approved by Stein, de Weech, and Schmoller. They maintained that archivists should be allowed the exer-

cise of some discrimination, but that unrestricted access to documents of an origin later than 1840 could not be allowed. Professor Schmoller held that the interests of the state sometimes make suppression necessary ; that many archives in Germany contain documents whose publication would only arouse slumbering hatred. The House of Hohenzollern, he said, could not allow the publication of much that concerns itself, and records of court scandals, particularly of the Russian court, could not prudently be given to the public.

The other interesting point referred to was the discussion of individualism and socialism in history, the former being the view of the history of civilization which rests chiefly on great men, the latter resting on the conception of humanity as a whole. The discussion was carried on chiefly by Schmoller, Gothein, Stein, Michael, and Hartman.

B. RELIGIOUS CONGRESSES.

14. ITALIAN CATHOLIC CONGRESS, Milan, begun August 30th. This Congress, the fifteenth of its kind, was remarkable for the large number who attended and the character of the resolutions adopted. The report is not yet out, but interesting descriptions may be found in the *Revista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, September, 1897, and in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, n. 1136. This Congress, being national, should not be identified with the provincial gatherings which are not unfrequent in Italy.

15. FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF GERMAN CATHOLICS, Landshut, begun August 29. Nearly 10,000 persons participated, among them many eminent ecclesiastics and laymen. Resolutions were adopted on the independence of the Holy See, the duel, and public morals. Considerable discussion of social questions took place.

16. CONGRESS OF CATHOLICS OF UPPER AUSTRIA, at Koniggratz in September. Aside from other national questions, the Congress took up the social question at length, framing a program of institutions which should be created for the amelioration of the laboring classes.

17. CONGRESS OF FRENCH CATHOLICS, Paris, November 30 to December 5. This is a national Congress, not to be confounded with the provincial gatherings such as that held at Lille. The

Congress was divided into three sections, those of Religious and Social Works and that of the defense of Catholic interests. The Congress is an important factor in bringing about union and co-operation among the Catholics of France.

18. EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES. There were two in particular—one held at Venice, August 9 to 12, the other at Paray-le-Monial, September 20.

19. CONGRESSES OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS. The fourth general Congress was held at Nimes, August 23 to 27. The report forms a large volume in 8°. A national Congress also was held at Brussels in late September. It was presided over by Father David, well known to English-speaking Catholics.

C. CONGRESSES FOR PUBLIC MORALITY.

20. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE REGULATION OF MORALS, Brussels, begun July 15. This gathering was indeed international, numbering among those who participated, many well known in political and religious circles. Among the matters discussed were the ever recurring question of the social evil, la recherche de la paternité, and the publication of immoral literature. The report is not yet out.

21. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR SUNDAY REST, Brussels, begun July 7. Many eminent persons took part. The conditions in the various countries were exposed at length, as were also the obstacles met with in the needs of industry, commerce, railroads and the press. State intervention and private co-operation in establishing a more thorough observance of Sunday received much attention during the sessions. The great majority of those who took part in the Congress were favorable to State intervention. We have as yet only the meager details furnished by the papers of the time, as the official report has not yet been received.

22. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AGAINST THE ABUSE OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKS, Brussels, August 30 to September 3. Preparations for this gathering were wise and thorough. A program of conferences for the general meetings was announced, as was also a list of questions to be handled by each of the four sections: *a*, Legislation, Sociology and Political Economy; *b*,

Education and Instruction ; *c*, Medicine and Hygiene ; *d*, Propaganda, Co-operation of Women in the Work. The papers presented were printed in advance, indicating clearly, principles, conclusions and measures to be taken. There can be no doubt that the work of the Congress will result in much good. The report is expected soon.

23. WOMEN'S CONGRESS, Brussels, begun August 4th. Representatives of all shades of opinion from all countries attended. Among the questions discussed were la recherche de la paternité, the economic position of woman, her place in intellectual pursuits and in charity organization. A French Catholic lady who attended as delegate, presented a long paper on the woman's movement as viewed from the Christian standpoint, maintaining that Christian principles emphatically favor the cause. This movement has met much opposition, clothed generally in ridicule ; but a serious observer, if he be fair minded, cannot fail to see that we have here a question whose solution will vitally affect every side of social life; religion, family, morals, social economics, politics, education, population, labor, salary, hygiene. The most difficult problems confronting society belong to the woman question. The effort of woman to aid society in their solution merits at least serious consideration.

The report of this Congress is not yet published.

D. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONGRESSES.

24. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR WORKING MEN'S HOMES, Brussels, July 23-25. Twelve questions, to be discussed at this Congress were prepared, and each was the object of several papers by specialists. The Working Men's Homes of New York were discussed in a paper by M. Gilder, and those of Philadelphia by M. Lindsay. Ten governments and a large number of cities were officially represented among the 500 delegates who attended. The report has just appeared. It makes an octavo volume of xl+546 pages—a valuable contribution to the literature on this great question.

25. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON ACCIDENTS AND INSURANCE OF WORKING MEN, Brussels, July 26-31. This was the fourth Congress of the kind, the others having been held at Paris, Berne, and Milan.

Ten questions were sent out in advance of the meeting and over thirty papers on them were received in reply. Fourteen States were officially represented. Among the 800 who were present were many men eminent in science, political and industrial life. The questions of obligatory insurance and insurance in the case of culpable neglect received much attention. The discussions were learned, sometimes animated, always instructive. Great varieties of opinion came to expression, but the majority seemed to agree that obligatory insurance (even though not governmental) imposed upon laborers and employers—extending even to culpable neglect—is just and useful.

The report makes a most interesting volume of *xlv+997* pages. Its value is enhanced by a good alphabetical table.

26. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE PROTECTION OF LABOR, Zurich, August 22-28. The unique feature of this gathering is that here for the first time Catholics and Socialists met in convention. They gave united support to many questions, among them the forbidding of Sunday labor in general, and of night work for women and children, the determination of a minimum age for the work of children in factories and of a maximum to constitute a legal work day. They were divided chiefly on the question of woman in industry. Catholics favored her gradual exclusion from industry, insisting on her higher mission to society, while the Socialists favored absolute independence and equality for women, seeing in the family nothing but an association based on interest, and suggesting that children be placed in the care of the state. A vote rejected the proposition supported by the Catholics.

The Congress attracted widespread attention. We have not yet received the report, but articles giving considerable valuable information may be found in the following magazines: *Revue Sociale Catholique*, October, 1897, by Hector Lambrechts; *Revue Thomiste*, September, 1897; *Revista Internazionale*, October, November, December, 1897, three articles by MM. Toniolo and Serralunga; *The Academie des Sciences Morales et politiques*, *Séances et Travaux*, March, 1898.

27. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, Brussels, September 6-11. The Congress was divided into five sections: *a*, Personal Property; *b*, Commercial Law; *c*, Polit-

ical Economy; *d*, Industrial Labor; *e*, International Relations and Transportation. Two or three questions were selected from each section, in all thirteen. Seventeen papers were presented, touching as well questions of ethics, law and economics, as the more technical ones of patent rights, speculation and insurance.

The report is not yet out, but if we may judge from the press of the time, the discussions were serious, turning often to questions treated by the Congress on Accidents and Insurance.

28. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR LABOR LEGISLATION, Brussels, begun September 27. The committee charged with the work of preparation had prepared six questions on which fifteen papers were sent in. These were printed and distributed before the sessions were begun.

Many eminent men took part, among them von Berlepsch, former Minister of Commerce of Germany, and the chief figure in the memorable Berlin Conference of 1890. The report has not yet appeared.

29. INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL CONGRESS, Brussels, August 17. We have no source of information yet, except the newspapers of the time. From them we learn that, aside from matters touching the Congo, the broader question of colonization in all aspects was discussed; political relations between colonies and the mother country, colonial representation, the religious, judicial, administrative and military organization, and the possible utilization of colonies in settling the tramp question.

30. CONGRESS OF HYGIENE AND CLIMATOLOGY, Brussels, begun August 12. We have no details of the work of this Congress, but it merits a place here since it touches on industrial and colonial interests.

31. LABOR CONGRESSES, such as Trades' Union Congress of Birmingham, the Democratic Congress of Tours, Congress of Mutualists of Brussels, Socialist Congresses in various countries, as those of Paris, Boulogne and Hamburg. We have as yet none of the reports.

32. CONGRESS OF ZIONISTS, BASLE, August 29. This Congress was inspired by the idea of constituting a country for

the numberless Jews plunged in misery in Galacia and Roumania and Eastern Europe in general. It seems not to have been an entire success. Some details may be found in the *Revue Catholique des Revues*, vol. v., p. 690 (account based on the *Israelitische Monatschrift*), *Nineteenth Century*, August and September, 1897, and the *Contemporary Review*, October, 1897.

E. PROFESSIONAL CONGRESSES.

33. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LAWYERS, Brussels, begun August 1. This Congress, the first of its kind, was well organized, and it seems to have been a complete success. Sixteen questions selected for discussion were classified in five sections, there having been however, a sixth complementary section.

Twenty-two nations—Japan included—were represented, and from all came papers on the questions submitted. Published in pamphlet form, they give us a complete description of the character and organization of the bar of the world. Three questions, subdivided into eight, were selected from the original number as the object of discussion before the Congress. They were: *a*) professional institutions due to the private initiative of the bar; *b*) professional instruction of the lawyer; *c*) international relations of the bar and of lawyers.

The discussions were full of interest. That of M. Jaspar on the philanthropic rôle of the younger members of the Brussels bar in serving the interests of the needy, of children, of released criminals and vagabonds, was particularly remarkable. The discussion of the training of the lawyer, and the comparative examination of methods followed in England and on the continent were also full of interest.

At the final session M. Picard made a splendid resumé of the work of the Congress, in which he gave beautiful expression to his ideas on the social mission of the lawyer.

Needless to say, well-turned phrases, whose contents were not always unmixed with satire, abounded; as, for instance, the following from a lawyer of Moscow: "Votre Palais de justice est immense, mais les dimensions n'en sont pas exagérées lorsq' on songe aux nombreuses illustrations qu'il abrite." The report of the Congress makes a neat volume of 281 pages.

34. FOURTH NATIONAL ITALIAN JURIDICAL CONGRESS, Naples, October 14. This Congress has considerable importance even for social questions, it having given much attention to the contract between employer and laborer.

35. CONGRESS OF THE PRESS, Stockholm, July. Our only source of information is the series of letters by M. de Haulleville in the *Journal de Bruxelles*. We have no doubt, however, that the question of responsibility of the press received attention, it being as actual in Europe as in America; witness, for example, the investigation carried on by the *Revue Bleu*, December 4, 11, 18, 25, 1897, and January 1, 8, 15, 22, 1898. Interesting articles may be found also in the *Arena*, February, 1898, and *The Interior*, of Chicago (in *Literary Digest*, March, 1898.)

36. SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PUBLISHERS, Brussels, in June.

37. FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARCHITECTS, Brussels, August 28 to September 5. The chief topics discussed were professional teaching, method to be adopted, the diploma to be conferred, and means to be used to secure to artists property rights in their work.

38. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PHARMACISTS, Brussels, begun August 16.

39. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MEDICAL SERVICE AND HYGIENE OF RAILROADS AND NAVIGATION, Brussels, begun September 6. Economic, moral and religious questions, no less than those that were technical, were discussed. The report has not yet appeared.

40. CONGRESS OF DIAMOND WORKERS, Brussels, in September. The chief discussions were on apprenticeship and international organization.

41. NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BELGIAN MINERS, in September.

F. CONGRESSES ON ARBITRATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.

42. EIGHTH INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE ON ARBITRATION, Brussels, August 7-11. The Interparliamentary Union was founded ten or twelve years ago. It has about 2,000 members, actual or former members of legislative bodies of the various countries. At the opening of this conference the presi-

dent, M. Beernaert, remarked with pleasure, "la présence pour la première fois des collègues de la grande république de l'Amérique du Nord."

There were two principal questions discussed—the establishment of a permanent court of international arbitration and permanent treaties of arbitration. At the suggestion of the German group of the Conference it was resolved to take energetic steps in cases of threatened war to prevent the publication of false sensational reports, and to give to the public the actual happenings truly and impartially. The report makes a volume of 130 pages.

43. CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, Copenhagen, August 26. The Institute of International Law, aiming at collective scientific action as distinct from individual and diplomatic activity, was founded by M. Rollin-Jacquemyns, then editor of the *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée*. It is composed of members and associates, the number of each being limited to sixty. The number of members from any one State may not exceed a fifth of the whole. Honorary members are also admitted, there being, however, but five such at present, MM. Calvo, de Courcel, Robert Hart, Lambremont, d'Olivecrono. The Institute meets annually, its sessions having been begun in Ghent in 1873. The following questions were discussed at the meeting in Copenhagen : a) determination of the status of foreign public corporations (State, province, city, etc.) ; b) emigration viewed from the standpoint of international law ; c) legal status of ships, etc., in foreign ports.

Interesting articles on the Institute and its last session may be found in *Séances et Travaux de l'Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, January, 1898, by M. A. Desjardins, and *Revista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, October, 1897, by Professor Olivi.

This brief objective account of the Congresses held in Europe in 1897 may be of some service in showing the trend of thought and the practical efforts of thinkers along religious, social, and scientific lines. It may also serve as an incentive to a more thorough study of methods in the work of Congresses.

A word in conclusion on delegating and voting. When institutions, colleges, or universities hold congresses they are best represented by delegates; or when such a body wishes to be represented formally at a Congress, or wishes to insure to one of its members in attendance, some particular courtesy, this purpose is best attained by formal delegation. Then, too, in case resolutions are to be taken which will have some particular binding force, the sending of delegates is probably the best method which can be adopted. These cases excepted, delegation seems to be out of place, for a member of a scientific Congress is measured by his own merit, reputation, or actual contributions to the work of the Congress. At one of the Brussels Congresses a member ventured to remark that he, as delegate, represented a large number of associations. The president observed with justice, apropos of the statement, that members represent rather, science and public opinion.

As to voting. When positive resolutions are to be taken a vote is reasonable, but in questions of pure opinion it is not only not necessary, but is even unwise. It was well remarked at the Congress of Lawyers in Brussels that a vote seldom expresses the opinion of the entire assembly; it gives rise to misunderstandings and rivalry, divides the members into groups, who inevitably fall into the habit of voting one way. On the contrary, discussion without the prospect of vote and victory, eliminates the disturbing element of self-seeking and makes possible, a calm and clear view of the currents of opinion represented.

THOMAS BOUQUILLON.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SCRIPTURE.

Examen Critique de l'Histoire du Sanctuaire de l'Arche. Dissertation présentée à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Louvain pour l'obtention du Grade de Docteur par H. A. Poels, Licencié en Theologie. Tome premier, pp. 436. E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1897.

In 1894 Abbé H. A. Poels, then a candidate for the Licentiate of Theology at the University of Louvain, published a dissertation entitled "Le Sanctuaire de Kirjath-Jearim." Though it was a monograph of very limited size it attracted not a little notice by the novelty of its thesis and the critical acumen shown by the author. The volume which we are reviewing was written for the doctorate, and is a development and improvement of the previous essay. It is the first of two which will treat comprehensively and exhaustively the question of Israelitic unity of sanctuary in post-Mosaic times.

The problem of unity of sanctuary is a pivotal one in the Pentateuchal controversy. Indeed it is the starting-point and foundation of the dominant Grafian system of Old Testament criticism. The leading exponent of the Grafian school, Wellhausen, acknowledged to M. Poels that "if the Grafian system can ever be overthrown the attack must commence at the point where you have begun." The sanctuary question is so vital for the Grafians because they deduce from the apparent multiplicity of approved altars in the periods of the Judges, Samuel, Saul, and the greater part of the kings, that a law prescribing centralization of worship was then unknown, non-existent, and never introduced until the reign of Josiah, when the pretended discovery, but real forgery, of an old code—the Deuteronomic—urged that king to a radical reform and unification of public cult. Hence, say the advocates of the prevalent view, the so-called Mosaic codes, instead of being ancient and primitive, are of late date and authorship.

The author of the "Examen Critique" undertakes to establish the historical reality of a sole, legal, national holy place from the earliest times in Israel; in other words, to

show that the official sanctuary of the ark was unique and exclusive in fact as in the Law. The volume is divided into two sections. The first treats of the sanctuary of Shiloh; the second, that of "Kirjath-Jearim." The whole embraces the time from Joshua to Solomon, exclusive.

In the first place the author maintains that Bethel and Ham-Mispah, which appear as sanctuaries in the story of the confederate war against Benjamin, Judges XIX-XXI, are really identical with Shiloh; Beth-el, "the house of God," being not the city, but a common name for the central shrine, and Ham-Mispah, "the elevation," being also a common appellation for the ark-sanctuary. In succeeding chapters Dr. Poels answers the objections to his thesis arising from the sacrifices at Dan, Shechem, Aphra, and Bochim, and considering the hardness of the task, does remarkably well. It needs the striking out of Jud., II, 1^b-5 as interpolated, to make the worship at Bochim the result, not of a theophany, but of the presence of the camp and ark of the Israelites. And here we have an illustration of the point in which the book is, if not vulnerable, at least incomplete. The interpolator, or whoever wrote Jud. II, 1^b-5, states that the Israelites sacrificed after the apparition of the chiding angel. The patriarchs built altars where they had been favored by visions or celestial communications. Gideon made an oblation in obedience to the command of the angel of the Lord, which appeared to him at Ophrah. David also raised an altar and sacrificed burnt-offerings on the threshing-floor of Araunah, where the destroying angel halted—the site of the future Temple (II Sam., 24, 25). All these instances show that there was in the mind of at least some Israelites a conviction that worship on the spot where a messenger from God appeared was the natural sequel to such a theophany. If this be true, then permanent worship at the same places would be merely a development of these sacrifices, and sanctuaries at Shechem, Bethel, Hebron and Bersheba, not at all surprising. Unless this difficulty is cleared up—perhaps the author will do so in the ensuing volumes—there will remain in the minds of Old Testament students a strong suspicion that the localities named were actually the seat of worshipping-places, and that Dr. Poel's explanations

concerning Bochim, Shechem, Bethel, and Hebron are more ingenious than conclusive.

It is especially in the section on the "Sanctuary of Kirjath-Jearim" that this scholar shows his greatest originality and penetration. The burden of this part is that the resting place of the ark at Qiryath-Yearim, the tama of Gibeon, the high-place of Gibeath-Saul, Nob, Ham-Mispah and Hag-Gilgal, instead of being separate holy-places or different resting-spots of the ark, are one and the same permanent ark-sanctuary under a variety of names. A startling and at first blush very unlikely proposition. It not only contravenes the hitherto almost unanimous opinion of exegetes of opposing schools, viz., that these names represent distinct localities, but it also comes in contact with prevailing topographical identifications. M. Poels brings to his task trained critical powers of an exceptional order and the tireless, patient industry of Teutonic scholarship, which exploits every serviceable detail, ransacking libraries and taking great pains in order to gain a little additional light or strength for an argument.

Dr. Poels is often happy in his exegesis. He takes texts which have been used as proofs by scholars of an opposite view, but in which his keen eye has detected quite a different sense. He brings out an idea that was overlooked or slurred, or he puts an obscure word or detail into correlation with another text or passage. The effect is that of a brilliant exegetical stroke; it comes to you with a sense of surprise that the meaning he draws is the more probable or the only tenable one; and the tables are turned upon the opposition.

The work is thoroughly critical and scientific in method. The author strikes a true and forcible note when he says that no one can be a real and self-convinced apologist who is not a critic. Dr. Poels passes everything through the critical crucible. He takes nothing at second hand, but tests and weighs not only commonly-received interpretations but also the purity of the text, and the assertions of the specialists in Palestinian geography. The statements of experts are worth to him only the value of their reasons.

Has the author proved his proposition that there was but a single official sanctuary in ancient Israel? No separate one of

the *momenta* of his argument is conclusive, and fault may be found with many of them, yet the resultant of all combined is formidable and impressive. In future his ideas cannot be ignored by exegetes and critics who touch this cardinal question. The young disputant has well earned his spurs. He has given to Wellhausen and his following one of the hardest blows they have received, and in doing so has admirably followed the counsel of Leo XIII, and turned against his adversaries of the rationalistic school their own arms and ammunition—the science and method of criticism. Dr. Poels admits in the latter part of his book that the local altars for the slaughter of cattle may have become real sanctuaries of an inferior and unofficial order on the occasion of local feasts, and that this usage might have been tolerated by the Law. The treatment of this point is within the scope of the second volume. In view of this admission the author cannot as yet consistently claim as a corollary of his work that it refutes the postexilic theory of the composition of the Priestly Code, which is so exclusive and implies so strict a centralization of sacrifice. But what M. Poels has really done is to have shaken the foundations of the hypothesis of the Josian origin of the Deuteronomic Code.

In style M. Poels is plain and concise, and has the French lucidity. The "Examen Critique" is a notable example of the advanced Catholic scholarship of our day; well-informed in the latest results and researches, discarding antiquated ideas and methods and recognizing whatever is true or probable in modern science, especially in the results of higher and textual criticism. It must be confessed that if progressive Catholic apologists are able to turn the methods and minor conclusions of rationalistic criticism against its major ones, they owe their schooling to the critics. It is not to our glory that we have had to learn much from the unorthodox Kuenens and Wellhausens. The scholarship of the Church should in the language of the Sovereign Pontiff "lead, not follow." But the signs are thickening that there is a great revival of Catholic interest in Scriptural science. Such works as that of Dr. Poels are happy indexes of a new era. Non-Catholic writers are commencing to recognize the movement and recent members of the *Literaturblatt* of Leipsic had words of praise from Professor

Edward Koenig for some recent solid achievements of German Catholic exegetes. The new Catholic Biblical scholarship will modify some old prejudices and opinions. It will make some concessions to claims of secular science, which at first sight may seem alarming. Dr. Poels accepts a number of ideas which the older schools rejected with more or less convinced intolerance. He admits the documentary analysis of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and I. Samuel, which is generally accepted by non-Catholic Biblicalists. He concedes that the human authors generalized and idealized history, and that textual alterations were frequent and in some books considerable. But though the new Catholic scholarship may in its eagerness and swing here and there push a little too far, the sum total of its labors will be, while making us look at the Bible in a different way from the old, to build a synthesis that will strengthen our faith in the written Word, and make the supernatural emerge from the test more impregnable and triumphant than ever.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament, von Prof. Dr. Franz Sales Trenkle. Freiburg: Herder, 1897, 8°, pp. 486.

This work is intended as a text-book for theological students in their seminary course and for the use of the clergy and the educated laity in general. Accordingly, it confines itself to the consideration of such subjects as properly belong to Biblical Introduction. After a few short preliminary chapters on the history of this science, the author divides his work into two books, the first of which is a special introduction to the several books of the New Testament, while the second, which is general, treats of the New Testament as a whole.

In the first book the author discusses, one by one, the twenty-seven books of the New Testament and gives his conclusions as to their authorship, their date and place of composition, the scope of each, an analysis of their contents, and the peculiarities of each book; after which he answers the objections raised against his positions. In all this the author follows the chronological order, which is a great advantage to all concerned; for, in handling the books of the New Testament, it facilitates matters very considerably to follow the

order in which the books were originally written, and not the order in which they happen to be found in the printed editions of the Bible. Accordingly Dr. Trenkle begins with the Pauline Epistles, and, among these, with the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which, in point of composition, precede all the other books of the New Testament. Then follow the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the Gospel of St. John, and finally the Catholic Epistles. The question of Inspiration is not yet considered, because the human authority of the sacred books should be determined before entering upon the inquiry concerning their divine origin.

The author has given us as complete a work as could well be expected in a text-book intended chiefly for students, for he has compressed a vast amount of useful materials into comparatively narrow limits. The work consists of one large octavo volume, of 486 closely printed pages, contains a full "Table of Contents," and, at the end of the volume, a complete "Register" of all the names of persons, places, and things mentioned in the course of the work.

The treatment of some of the subjects is particularly good. The "Synoptic Problem," for instance, is set forth in so lucid a manner as to be easily understood by the beginner, and, at the same time, so exhaustively as to be of service to the more advanced reader. But it is especially on the problems connected with the Gospel of St. John that the author is at his best. The authorship of this Gospel, which is one of the most mooted questions in the higher criticism of the New Testament, Dr. Trenkle discusses with all fairness and much thoroughness. While admitting the difficulties (and he states them fairly) against the Johannine authorship, he contends that there are by far greater difficulties to contend with in the supposition that, not the beloved disciple St. John, but an anonymous writer of the second century, was the author of this Gospel.

General Introduction to the New Testament is divided into two principal treatises, in each of which the author treats the New Testament as a whole. In the first treatise Dr. Trenkle gives to the History of the Canon of the New Testament an amount of space proportionate to the relative importance of the subject. Traces of the existence of a Canon or

collection of New Testament books he follows up in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists, and in the works of the early heretics. This is followed by an unusually interesting chapter on the Apocryphal Gospels, the Apocryphal Acts, the Apocryphal Epistles and the Apocryphal Apocalypses of the New Testament, such as "Didaché of the Apostles," the "Preaching of Peter," the "Peregrinations of Paul and Thecla," the "Acts of Peter and Paul," etc.

In the "History of the Text and Versions," Dr. Trenkle explains the elements of palæography, exhibits the form and external appearance of books in the days of the Apostles, and tells us of what materials they were made. He also acknowledges that liberties were sometimes taken with the text by copyists while in the act of transcribing the manuscripts or codices, and discusses the necessity that soon arose of discovering some means of detecting and correcting such false readings as had crept into the text through the carelessness or malice of transcribers. He then describes the form of the codices of the sacred books, the division of the books into chapters, the subdivision of the chapters into *pericopæ* and then into verses, as well as the time when and the persons by whom all such changes were introduced. He next describes the most important manuscripts of the Greek New Testament, such as the Vatican, the Sinaitic, the Alexandrine, and others. He shows how useful to the textual critic are such ancient versions as the Latin Vulgate and the Syriac, which are witnesses to the condition of the best Greek manuscripts at the time that these versions were made.

The author is naturally, and, for a Catholic, very properly, exhaustive in his treatment of the Latin Vulgate, the history of which he gives quite fully. He also discusses the meaning and the value of the decree of the Council of Trent declaring the Vulgate authentic, and points out in what sense the Vulgate is authentic and in what sense it is not authentic. The history of the transmission of the Greek text, especially of the "textus receptus," and of the principal modern critical editions of the New Testament is also given with sufficient detail and far more fully than is done in most manuals of introduction.

Dr. Trenkle is painstaking and exhaustive in all his writings; an instance is his Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. Nor can it be said that in his latest effort an unfinished work has left his hands. He has consulted the sacred books themselves, and, after a close and careful examination of their contents, covering a period of many years, he has given us in this Introduction the results of his personal researches. He has kept himself thoroughly abreast of the times, and, by means of copious references and an unusual abundance of footnotes, he makes it possible for the student to study on indefinitely, and finally to place himself on a level with the foremost scholarship of the day.

Commentarius Theodori Mopsuesteni in evangelium D. Johanni sin libros vii partitus. Versio Syriaca juxta codicem Parisiensem cccviii edita studio et labore Johannis Baptistae Chabot, S. Theol. Doct. Tomus i, textus Syriacus. Parisiis, apud Ernestum Leroux via dicta Bonaparte No. 28, 1897, 1 vol. (pp. viii-412) 8°. \$4.00.

We cannot yet review this volume as the importance of the subject demands. We must wait for the publication of the second volume, which will contain, besides a Latin translation by a priest of Warsaw, the preface by the editor and the variant readings from the sole other copy of that work extant in Europe. This second volume is in press, and will soon make its appearance. However, we may at once call the attention of our readers to the interest that attaches to the publication of the works of the famous Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia. Every one knows that he was no less remarkable for his ascetic virtues than for his vast learning and prodigious literary activity, and also that he was really the originator of Nestorianism. Not only was it from Theodore that Nestorius received the doctrine to which he attached his name, but when, thanks to the energy of St. Cyril of Alexandria, the heresiarch was formally silenced, it was through the Syriac translations of the works of Theodore, that his followers spread their tenets among the Eastern Churches, a fact that brought about, justly though rather too late, the condemnation of the memory and works of Theodore (553). Once condemned those works rapidly disap-

peared in the original Greek; so that we have nothing but fragments of them, some of them very short—mere quotations—others longer but often visibly condensed when not unintelligently expurgated. They are mostly taken from the Catenae Patrum, hence their fragmentary and disjointed condition. The reader will find them collected in the Greek Patrology of Migne, vol. LXVI, Cols. 123–1019. As for the Syriac translations, which were the work of the untiring school of the Persians at Edessa, they must long have been exceedingly common in the Nestorian communities. Ebed-Jesu, in the latter part of the tenth century, was acquainted with no fewer than fifty volumes of them. They gradually became so very rare that until ten years ago none of the large European collections of Syriac manuscripts could boast of having one single complete treatise of Theodore. It is fortunate that the new acquisition of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris happens to be the commentary on the Gospel of St. John, which we otherwise know to have been at once the most widespread and the most famous of Theodore's exegetical works. We have to thank the Abbé Chabot, already well known to all interested in Syriac literature, for having so quickly put this important document within the reach of all those familiar with Syriac. We trust that the general public will not have to wait much longer for his promised Latin translation and introduction. When they appear, we shall seize the occasion to discuss the life and career of one of the most extraordinary men of the early Christian Church.

Harmony of the Gospels, by Rev. Joseph Bruneau, SS., Professor of Sacred Scripture at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie (New York), with the approbation of the Most Rev. Michael-Augustine Corrigan, Archbishop of New York. The Cathedral Library Association, New York, 1898, pp. 144, 8°.

This is an attempt to classify the facts and discourses of Our Lord's life in a chronological order, according to the English Douay version of the Latin Vulgate. The author aimed at producing a book both useful and practical, as well for the literary study of Christ's words and discourses as for the his-

torical study of His life. A simple but well-arranged table of contents permits the reader to follow with ease, through 211 subjects, the harmonious exposition of the common gospel narrative, arranged according to Birth, Childhood, and Public Life of Jesus—the latter divisions being again subdivided according to years. In numerous footnotes Fr. Bruneau has condensed a great deal of apposite instruction and guidance. He is especially to be praised for bringing forward the newer school of Catholic writers on Scripture, such as Loisy, Lagrange, Azibert, Semeria, and Savi. Very useful notes are also appended from the works of Le Hir, Fillion, Vigouroux, Le Camus, Fouard, and Martin. Nor has he neglected to remind his readers of the most useful contributions of Protestant learning to the various difficulties that he meets on his way. The type, though small, is exceedingly clear and sharp, and the little volume is gotten up in a way to please all students.

Six Lecons Sur les Evangiles par M. l'abbé Pierre Batiffol. Paris: Lecoffre, 1897, pp. 133, 8°.

In the spring of 1897 the Catholic University of Paris opened its doors to a higher teaching for women (*l'enseignement supérieur des jeunes filles*). The abbé Batiffol was charged with the courses in early church history, and the present volume represents his teaching on the Christian gospels, which are the earliest and the most authentic sources for the history of the Christian society. In the gospels the joyous news of an Emmanuel was first made known, the long expectancy of Israel was satiated, the light arose before the eyes of multitudinous nations groping in moral darkness. More than any other records of that century the gospels bear the ear-marks of historicity,—hence about them, as about an Alamo of defence, has always raged the adverse and extreme criticism of the opponents of Christianity. Until this position is secured, no logical or scientific use of later records can be had, however important, full, and primitive. They draw from the reservoirs of the gospels, they know no earlier traditions, and expound a Christianity identical with that of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. M. Batiffol did well, therefore, when he turned

his facile pen to an exposé of what the most solid and trustworthy criticism tells us concerning these four brief narratives of the Coming, the Life, and the Death of Jesus Christ. The lessons treat of the gospel preached by a Jew to Jews (Matthew), by a Greek to Greeks (Luke), by a Romanized tongue to Latins (Mark), by a sublime mystic to the élite of the Christian society, and to all souls athirst for the spiritual and celestial (John). The gospel of St. Paul, in the Acts and the Epistles, also outlined with succinctness. The treatment of the delicate critical questions that swarm along this path is pious and didactic, as becomes a priest, but it betrays also an acquaintance with the studies and the gains of the moderns,—gains that fall, in the end, into the treasury of the Church, and which need, therefore, to be carefully noted and registered by her savants. With much tact the writer has emphasized certain special interests of woman, as they occur in the narratives of Our Lord's life. This little volume ought to be translated, given the paucity of similar works for English-speaking Catholics. The sixth lesson, on the Gospel of St. John, is quite a *chef d'œuvre* of feeling and discernment, possible only to a sacerdotal soul, and in a language become like crystal in the shaping hands of a hundred writers of genius.

A General and Critical Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scripture, by Rev. A. E. Breen, D. D., Rochester, N. Y., 1897, 4°.

The increased activity recently displayed in the study of the Holy Scriptures is encouraging for the future. The Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" has produced gratifying results in calling forth many learned dissertations marked by a more scientific discussion of mooted questions. Catholics, to whom the Holy Father primarily addressed this Encyclical, have felt the significance of his words and set to work with renewed energy for the purpose of obtaining a better grasp, a clearer understanding, and a nearer acquaintance with the word of God. Since the Bible, which is the inheritance of Catholics, can never fail to be of the highest concern to them, the solution of its perplexing problems demands their deepest study. There is no reason why Catholics should not be prepared to do battle for the truth in refuting whatever is erroneous in mod-

ern biblical criticism, and as well equipped as others to supply the ever-increasing demand for works abreast of recent scientific investigation.

Such, however, has not been the case in the recent past. Neither manuals nor technical treatises have covered all the ground that should be included in the curriculum of Biblical studies. We might instance in particular the great need of Introductions to Scripture. The few we have in English make no pretense to thoroughness. The difficulty and the delicacy of the task incumbent on the writer of an Introduction are apparent from the variety of topics that he must touch on, from the vast erudition that is presupposed, from the patient research needed in the accumulation of the materials from all sources of information, and from the judgment requisite to sift these materials. In fact the compilation of an exhaustive Introduction to Sacred Scripture is a task of such magnitude as to make the severest demands on all the resources of the most versatile scholar.

The work of Dr. Breen shows several signs of a hasty compilation. A volume so vast as is this might well be the work almost of a lifetime; yet it was published in about four years after the ordination of the author. The contents of such a book need frequent and minute revision. The data should be so familiar to him that he may be able to detect the slightest flaw and to supply the most minim detail. Whatever will not bear the closest scrutiny should be suppressed.

We observe in the work a lack of symmetry, a disproportionateness of treatment. For, while only thirty-six pages are devoted to the discussion and elucidation of the very important question of Inspiration, about three hundred and forty pages are given up to the history of the Canon of Scripture. This distended treatment of the Canon results in part from the introduction of bits of information irrelevant to the subject. If obliged to make a choice, we would prefer to have a more extended discussion on Inspiration than to have the moral reflections on the manner and the motives of papal elections found at the foot of page 552.

The author's style is sometimes open to criticism. It is not always clear and simple, even on subjects which could easily

be expressed in simple language. The phraseology is sometimes heavy and sometimes intricate, whereby the gist of the argument is lost and the sequence of ideas obscured.

The introduction of questions of no particular value and of little bearing on the main point under discussion may be set down as defects in a scientific treatment of Scripture. As such we might quote the "Language of Adam," or the "Confusion of Tongues."

We have pointed out some, not all, of the shortcomings of Dr. Breen's work. But it would be unfair not to call attention to its good features. The author deserves praise and encouragement for his earnest effort to bring within the reach of beginners some of the conclusions of recent biblical scholars. In this Introduction he furnishes the student with much of the equipment necessary for the proper understanding of the Bible and for a profounder study of the sources of information on the subject. Every contribution to literature that serves to bring the student more in touch with the modern biblical movement merits recognition. It is undeniable that the author has gathered into this volume a great deal of information that could not easily be found in the same accessible form in any work written by a Catholic in the English language. That the work is published in English reflects great credit on the good judgment of the author, and enhances very considerably its value, not so much to the hard-working clergyman, as to the lawyer, the physician, the journalist, the general litterateur, and to the educated laity whose occupations will not allow the time to work out a translation of some Latin work on similar subjects.

The book itself is well printed. It is attractive, solidly bound, and, typographically, is very handsome. The large margin left for notes is an innovation which the student will appreciate.

The Science of the Bible, by Rev. Martin S. Brennan, A. M. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1898, pp. 390, 8°. \$1.25.

We learn from the preface of this work that its aim is "to give an honest presentation of the branches of science touched upon in the Sacred Scriptures as compared with the same

branches studied from a purely natural or secular standpoint." These sciences are, principally, Astronomy, Optics, Geology, Biology, and Anthropology. The author writes in a fair and impartial spirit, and cannot be said to belong to the extreme wing of Catholic apologetics, since he "recognizes the world as older than Usher makes it, and holds the theory of a partial deluge, because these views are legitimate interpretations of Genesis, and held by many of the greatest commentators, and are more in accord with the present teaching of science." The book is neatly gotten up and well printed.

THEOLOGY.

La Grace et la Gloire. Par J. B. Terrier, S. J. Lethielleux, Paris, 1897, 2 vols., 8°.

These two volumes, addressed especially to priests, are an elaboration of the idea of the supernatural from a positive as well as a speculative standpoint. The author presents an orderly treatise on the three chief points of Adoption, Justification, and Final Blessedness, reënforcing his considerations with many well-chosen references to the Fathers and the standard theologians. There is a wealth of illustration throughout, and the appendix in the several volumes are interesting pieces of research. The author has not neglected the devotional side of his subject, which he develops by profuse citations from Holy Writ.

The popularization of subjects—so abstruse in nature as the one with which the author has to deal—is no easy task. There is always the danger of sacrificing the matter to the manner by going out of one's way in the search for analogies and examples. This the author has carefully avoided, much to his credit. We would like to have seen as preface to the author's special topic a brief yet solid exposition of the notion of the supernatural order in general. It would not have considerably lengthened his treatise and would have added much to the force of what he has to say by clearing the mind for its reception. It would also have made more pointed, orderly and relevant the contents of Book XI, pp. 319-357. To plunge at once into the very heart of his subject without first making

good the underpinning on which the fabric is to rest, strikes us as a trifle artless. His exposition of the doctrine of grace, and, notably, of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, is clear, compact, and inspiring. He touches upon many knotty theological points and always says something pertinent and decisive. The entire work is so plentifully besprinkled with positive matter that the reader cannot fail to make the acquaintance of the best Catholic writers who have bequeathed us so much that is solid and entertaining on these subjects of subjects. These two volumes are recommended to priests, both for the value of the thoughts exposed and the ease and grace of the manner of exposition.

The Training of a Priest. (Our Seminaries.) An Essay on Clerical Training, by Rev. John Talbot Smith, LL. D. Second edition. New York: William H. Young & Co., 1897. 8°. pp. xii - 327.
\$1.00.

According to the Catholic and historical conception of the Christian religion, the priest is the pivot of a huge religious organic system which embraces heaven and earth, the present and the future; which lays hold on man at every point and dictates his views, his acts, his duties, his ideals, his hopes ; which is infallibly self-consistent and draws within its vast sweep the whole world of human activity. In this system the priest is the essential, indispensable element. He is not the organism, but he is its heart, its key, its driving-wheel. If he be withdrawn ; if his energies be toned down, or decay ; if his eye grow dim and his heart throb no longer with a mighty precision, then the immense society which is built on him exhibits at once every symptom of a false and irregular condition. No wonder, then, that the education of the priest has been the theme of a multitude of writers from the moment that the Christian Church came forth victorious from the conflict with the ethnic world. St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his incomparable "Apologia pro fuga sua," St. Jerome in his "Ad Nepotianum suum," St. John Chrysostom in his "De Sacerdotio," St. Gregory the Great in his "Regula Pastoralis," have left us as many gems of priestly pedagogies. After them a host of mediæval writers in every Christian land have left but

little to be drawn from the Scriptures, history, reason, the fitness of things, that may inculcate the priestly virtues and form those precious vessels which bear the mysteries of God in a hostile and malicious world. If Cardinal Manning had left us nothing beyond his golden book "The Eternal Priesthood," he had made us rich thereby, for it is in itself a school, where sympathy and piety, love and experience teach in turn, with sweet human mien and tone, and with words that drop like honey, and shine like points of fire. Our own Cardinal has found time in a busy life to write that excellent book, "The Ambassador of Christ," in which the priestly virtues and the motives thereto are treated in the calm, kindly spirit of a truly pastoral heart, and the duties and the dangers of the priestly life illustrated from the treasury of a varied experience with men and situations that has not left his heart cynical or filled him with ecclesiastical pyrrhonism.

Such a work as that of Dr. Smith deserves, therefore, no excuse. It is the highest theme that can engage the pen of a priest, and countless examples, as well as the nature of the subject and the enormity of the interests at stake, show that in this senate each member has the right and duty to utter the counsel that is in him. This Dr. Smith has done, with charity and moderation, but also with frankness and pointedness. Few of those who have been brought up in the conditions of which he writes will deny that his statements are apposite, and most of his criticisms and suggestions have long been current *inter domesticos parietes*. One may dissent here and there from the formula of a judgment, or the exact utility of a suggested remedy, it will remain true that the book represents a condition, voices the common judgment, and suggests betterments long desired. And this is no light praise, for, given the intensity of interest which our country, more than ever before, is awakening in Europe, whatever touches on the general condition of the American Catholic Church is sure to be read abroad with the keenest interest.

There is but one defect, in the writer's opinion, large and important enough to need criticism. It is the omission of any reference to the higher education of the priest, the need of a broader, more varied, more profound, more elegant culture

than he can hope to receive in the seminaries. Individuals may gain it by personal endeavor, by travel, by contact—it will always be a chance, and at the best an uneven, mental culture that is thus acquired.

"*Vitae non scholae vivimus*" some one will say, transposing a word of Seneca. Nevertheless, it remains true that all superior training must usually be acquired by system, in organized and equipped schools, among libraries, appliances, and, above all, under trained teachers, living *ad hoc*, and free from other cares, in order that they may form at least a certain percentage of ecclesiastics to be foremost in every department of knowledge wherein progress is made, or wherein ignorance or apathy could be reckoned as disgraceful to the Church. Dr. Smith recognizes this, of course. His whole book is an eloquent plea for the elevation of the character of the priest, mental and spiritual. The suggestion of a trained seminary faculty implies it. Yet such a faculty can best be trained in a university, indeed, can be satisfactorily trained nowhere else. There they may acquire an extensive and sure erudition, an exact method, a knowledge of original authorities, a wide view over the history of each ecclesiastical science, and that sensible toleration which follows the knowledge of honest errors and misapplied devotion. In the university they come in contact with professors and students of sciences they do not intend to cultivate, but, from personal contact, they learn the dignity and the office of these sciences; they learn not to overrate their own favorite studies, and that all the ecclesiastical sciences are patterns of a vast mosaic, facets of a great diamond, rays of one luminous body.

But it is not only the teachers in our seminaries who need the best training that may be had. True, none need it more, for what material passes through their hands? The characters of young Americans,—as a rule gifted and ardent, frank and affectionate, with the faith of a people as yet free from scandals long unremedied, and from the corroding cynicism that follows such conditions and lames all honest effort in a later time.

Nevertheless, the clergy in general, both diocesan and regular, need the opportunity and the advantage of a superior training. As to the latter, the Constitution issued in 1778 by

the prince-bishop of Münster, Franz von Fürstenberg, may yet be read with profit and edification.¹

The former never needed, as now, the additional prestige that learning and personal refinement add to the divinely-given authority of the priest. We may not need the urbanity and the courtly graces of the learned French clergy of the court of Louis XIV, nor the extraordinary polemical powers of a Bellarmine, a Du Perron, or a Stapleton, nor the monumental erudition of a Mabillon or a Montfaucon. But we do need in every large diocese at least some whose lives are devoted to the ancient ecclesiastical ideals, and who shall be the nucleus of a clergy ready to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of the future. There is everything in the past to show that the clergy must lead the people,² but there is nothing in the past to show how great will be the demand upon the Catholic clergy in the mighty democracy that is now consolidating itself in the New World, which is assimilating its rather tumultuous immigration, and whose mental starting-point is the goal to which the Old World has struggled through endless vicissitudes. Already there are many who are concerned for that future, and who desire to see the love of all study the common inheritance of every priest.

It is this conviction, among other motives, which led to the establishment of a Catholic University at the heart of the nation: that there might be a home for the studious clergy, with provision of suitable libraries and appliances, and contact with the actual world of thought and endeavor, as it is shaping itself. It is meant to work in unison and harmony with the seminaries; to carry on the studies begun in those nurseries of piety and study; to provide men who shall in time bring back to the scenes of their first formation a wider knowledge, methods either new or happily restored, and a lively sense of the fact that the literary activity which to-day reigns in non-Catholic circles has for its object several sciences and themes that are essentially Catholic in their character and history, and in which we should again flourish as masters in our own house.

¹ Bibliothek der Katholischen Pädagogik, Vol. IV, p. 230. "Was und wie die Mönche studieren sollen." Friburg, Herder, 1891.

² Jer. XVIII, 18; Malachy II, 7; Matt. XXVIII, 19-20; John XV, 16.

PHILOSOPHY.

Institutiones Psychologicae. Pars II (Vol. III.) Tilmannus
Pesch, S. J. Freiburg: Herder, 1898, pp. xviii-551.

Father Pesch divides his extensive work on Psychology into *Psychologia Physica* and *Psychologia Anthropologica*. The first deals with life and vital functions, especially the cognitive function in its various grades. The discussion of these subjects fills two volumes published respectively in 1896 and 1897. The third volume, which has just appeared, treats of anthropological psychology, *i. e.*, of those physical processes and conditions which are peculiar to man. This "human psychology," as it may be termed, comprises four general problems: the nature of intellection, the nature of volition and will, the passions and emotions, the existence and activity of the soul after death.

Here, as in the other portions of his treatise, Father Pesch adheres closely to the teaching of St. Thomas, adopting, whenever it is possible, the very language of the Angelic Doctor. At the same time, notice is taken of opposing views which have appeared in the historical development of mental science or are now in vogue among psychologists. As a result, the book abounds in lengthy quotations and references to the literature of the subject. If conflicting theories are not always examined in detail, the author's position is clearly stated in each thesis, and his presentation is orderly.

It is difficult, of course, even in a volume of this size, to treat fully every phase in the discussion of psychological problems and to answer at length every objection. This may explain the scant justice that is done to certain topics of prime importance. One could wish, *e. g.*, that the arguments of modern Determinism had been more thoroughly sifted, and that the emotional states had been more carefully analyzed. Attention, which is so closely related to the functions of intellect and will and around which so much empirical investigation centers, seems to have been overlooked in this volume, though it was briefly treated in the second volume under the heading of sense perception. In view also of the actual trend of psychology, the principles of mental development should

have at least been critically examined. Apart from such oversights, the treatise is certainly a good exposition of Scholastic doctrine. The reader will appreciate the helpful indices as well as the typographical work which, as usual, is a credit to the publishers.

The New Psychology. E. W. Scripture. London : Walter Scott ;
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889, pp. xxiv-500.

The author's aim is to do away with misconception and confusion and "to show just what the new psychology is." In the literal sense of the words, this would be a large undertaking; but the book does not attempt to cover the whole field of investigation; it is mainly a description of experimental methods and their results. The "New Psychology" is said to satisfy both the introspectionists, who "would maintain a true science of mind apart from physiology" and the psycho-physiologists, who "were animated with the desire for truly scientific work to replace the inaccuracy of the introspectionists": it is "a purely mental science, founded on careful experiment and exact measurement." So far as this foundation is concerned, Dr. Scripture's exposition is clear and thorough, especially in Part I, where, under the heading of "Methods," he deals with observation, statistics, measurement and experimenting. He claims, however, that there are no distinctly psychological methods of measurement. The "methods" so minutely described and discussed by other writers are "skillful adaptations of methods common to all the exact sciences." Parallel with this view is the arrangement of psychological data under three heads: Time (Part II), Energy (Part III), and Space (Part IV). While such a classification may serve the purposes of physical investigation, it does not satisfy the demands of a "purely mental science." Processes of mind reveal fundamental differences to which those three characteristics are secondary. A result of Scripture's division is that certain important subjects, such as attention and emotion, are scarcely noticed, while twice as many pages are devoted to the chapter on "Lifting Weights" as to that on "Feelings."

Notwithstanding these defects, the book will prove interesting to those who seek information concerning psychological experiment. Numerous illustrations explain the construction of apparatus and the results obtained. Part V, entitled "Past and Present," is an historical summary, pointing out the sources, development, and actual condition of the science. Eight appendices contain formulas and tables which will be of service to the student.

Outlines of Descriptive Psychology. George Trumbull Ladd. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898, pp. viii-421.

As the sub-title indicates, this is a "text-book of mental science for colleges and normal schools." It "aims to give a complete but summary treatment of the phenomena of human mental life, from the different points of view, and with all the method of research, which belong to modern psychology." This undertaking and its success will not surprise the student who is familiar with the larger works of Prof. Ladd. For beginners, the present volume is a good introduction. While the subjects and the order of treatment are almost the same as in the author's "Psychology Descriptive and Explanatory," the division is simpler. Part First discusses the "Processes of Mental Life;" Part Second, the "Development of Mental Life." The method employed throughout is empirical. The closing chapter deals briefly with the relations between body and mind, but the final solution is turned over to philosophy. Readers who look to the practical side of psychology will find useful suggestions on the education of the senses, memory, imagination and will. A brief bibliography at the end of each chapter serves as a guide to more extended study. The omission of long quotations and foot-notes, the sparing use of figures, and the printing of leading rubrics in bold-faced type, are features that adapt the book to its purpose.

Psychologic Foundations of Education. W. T. Harris. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898, pp. xxxv-400.

In his "attempt to show the genesis of the higher faculties of the mind" Dr. Harris keeps in view the defects alike of the inventory-psychology which merely classifies, and of the indi-

vidualistic psychology which ignores the "principle of participation in spiritual life." Educational psychology "deals with all phases of the action and reaction of the mind by itself or in the presence of objects, by which the mind develops or unfolds, or is arrested or degenerates." In the study of the mind the one great central fact is self-activity ; this is the keynote of the book.

Under the head of "Psychological Method" (Part I) are discussed the simple aspects of the principle of self-determination. The term "method" is here taken in a wide sense ; for the discussion leads us far up into general philosophy. Plato's three stages of thought are regarded as "the most important discovery ever made in psychology." The ideas of time, space, and causality, which make experience possible, are treated from the Kantian standpoint. The logical structure of the intellect is extended to sense-perception, which uses different figures of the syllogism. Perhaps the most significant chapters in Part I are those in which the author maintains that a concept is not a mental picture, and defends at some length the freedom of the will as the acme of self-activity.

"Psychologic System" (Part II) is an exposition of organic and mental processes in the ascending scale of individuality and spontaneous energy. The idea of development naturally stands in the foreground, but the treatment is still philosophical rather than empirical. It is interesting to note an Aristotelean current of thought in this part, though it is not turned, as one might wish, upon the various problems of mental growth which psychology is just now investigating. At the same time, practical suggestions are given, especially in regard to the education of the feelings and of the memory.

Part III—"Psychologic Foundations," deals with "the institutions that educate." Society, the child's environment, the school curriculum, art and literature, science and philosophy, are examined and their psychological basis is determined. This portion of the work, while it accords with what precedes, is also in touch with actual conditions. As it sets forth the author's views on pedagogical subjects, it appeals directly to teachers. Throughout the work there are passages on God, freedom, and immortality which are spiritualistic in

tone and hold up lofty ideals to the educator. And though the theory of mental development is not entirely beyond criticism, its fundamental principle of self-activity gives it a decided advantage over other theories which assume the utter passivity of mind.

Vie du Cardinal Manning, par l'abbé H. Hemmer. Paris : Lethiel-leux, 1898, pp. lxxiii—494, 8°, with portrait.

This French life of Cardinal Manning, coming as it does after the life by Purcell, the volumes of François de Pressensé, and the studies of Lemire, Hutton, and Father Gasquet, offers the reader an occasion of comparison and sober reflection, now that the literary agitation has subsided which followed the publication of Purcell's biography. The author tells us that he intended originally to translate the sketch of Cardinal Manning published by Canon Bellesheim (1892), but that the multitude of new documents that made their appearance in 1896 compelled a recasting of his task; hence its present shape, in which the work expresses the personal views of the author, though the basis of the narrative remains the sketch of Bellesheim. M. Hemmer belongs to a vigorous and ardent wing of the French clergy which sees the gravest danger to the Church in a policy of passivity, and to which men of the large and beneficent activity of Cardinal Manning are shining lights. They would see the priest interested in all the departments of human life. They would have him refuse to be shut up in his sacristy, with a few titles of honor, exercising only ornamental functions,—an official reader of the liturgy, like the pagan priests of Rome, but with no influence on the life and destinies of his native land. They remember that from Suger to Richelieu priests were the makers of France, and that the national character is so deeply impressed by this fact that Frenchmen continue to call themselves officially Roman Catholics long after they have abandoned the convictions that alone justify the name. After the manner of French books, written with a purpose, the volume contains a lengthy preface, in which the author expounds certain phases of the actual situation in France which he thinks might be bettered if there were more men like Manning, or if the principles and the conduct of Manning found more general imitators across the channel.

II Razionalismo e la Ragione Storica, Saggio Apologetico, da Enrico Costanzi (Biblioteca del Clero, vol. ix), Siena, 1896, 3d ed., pp. 451, 8°.

Essays on the philosophy of history will always exercise a charm over thoughtful minds, especially over such as look upon the world and man in the light of historical Christianity. From this view-point there are to be found in history unity, consistency, progress, and a vast synthesis of knowledge and action. Outside of Christianity there is possible no science of history as such, no grouping of the common tendencies, experiences and ideals, which count for so much in the evolution of races and nations. The mind of man is the great shuttle of the loom of history. That mind has been but once made captive, and then by the absolute truth, *i. e.*, in Christ Jesus. The Christian mind sees the world of history revolving about two poles,—divine providence and the free will of man, and in the mutual reaction and interaction of these vast forces are to be sought all the secrets of human life, however highly organized.

This is the general thesis of the book of Signor Costanzi,—an examination of the office and effects of the Christian religion carried on in the light of certain indisputable facts,—the Fall of Man and the Redemption, the existence of evil, of free-will in man, of an immediate personal Providence, of a supernatural order, and the harmony between it and the natural. Incidentally, he treats some great historical phenomena illustrative of his position,—the vocation of Israel, the person of Jesus Christ, the spread of Christianity, the cosmopolitan function of the Eternal City, Christianity as a social factor, as the only satisfactory exponent of the truth concerning liberty, human rights, and social unity.

A brief exposé of the views of Herder, Hegel, Cousin, Guizot and others brings out the fact that the only reliable and efficient philosophy of history is that to be found in Orosius, in St. Augustine's City of God, in St. Thomas Aquinas, and in Bossuet. These doctrines, as developed by writers of genius like Cesare Balbo, Cesare Cantù, Auguste Nicolas, and Goberti give to the book its specific character.

There is a certain vagueness about the work, a certain want of unity, owing perhaps to the fact that the material first appeared as disjointed essays. There is also considerable repetition of the same views, and a diffuseness of exposition that tends to weary the reader. Otherwise, it is a worthy contribution to ecclesiastical literature.

Patrologie, von Otto Bardenhewer, Doctor der Theologie und der Philosophie, Professor der Theologie au der Universität München, Freiburg, Herder, 1894, pp. x-635, 8°. \$3.00.

The scope of this new manual of patrology is declared to be "a clear and succinct presentation of the actual state of the science." By the citation of a number of the best works of ancient patrologists and the most valuable contributions of modern scholars, the author hopes, not only to enrich the mind of the student, but also to incite him to personal research in the attractive field of the writings of those defenders, exponents, and chroniclers of Christianity who flourished well within the cycle of Greco-Roman influence. Their catalogue begins with the first commentators of the gospel, the first non-inspired writers of the Christian society, and ends with the decaying life and institutions of the Roman state in the West in the days of Gregory the Great. In other words, the subject-matter or theme of this work is the literary history of the Christian world during the first six centuries of its existence.

In an excellent introduction the idea and scope of patrology are defined, the history of the science outlined, and a conspectus is given of the systematic collections of patristic writings, as well as the comprehensive attempts at translations of them into vernacular languages like German and English. The literary history of the fathers themselves, and ecclesiastical writers, is divided into three parts that close respectively with the end of the third century, the middle of the fourth, and the end of the sixth. In each period the Greek writers are treated apart from the Latin, while in the second the Syriac Christian literature, and in the third the Armenian, are presented with brevity but with clearness and succinctness. For each writer there is a paragraph, or series of paragraphs, in which his life and writings are described with sobriety and compactness,

but without omitting anything essential. Other paragraphs, in smaller type, follow, in which the editions of the works described are enumerated, and a choice given of the best works on the writer in question. Of the ancient literature that which has stood the test of time or has some permanent value, is given, while the latest studies of modern critics, editors, or students, are quoted with no little generosity. Fullness and compactness have been sought for on every page, and it is safe to say that no manual of patrology contains more material for the student, or puts it in a more orderly and scientific manner than this. The last edition of Alzog's patrology (German) has a peculiar value of its own—every such book has when it passes through the alembic of a well-trained and appointed mind ; the manual of Fessler-Jungmann (Latin) is indispensable to every student of theology, especially to beginners ; the manual of Nirschl (German), quite extensive, gives an insight into the actual doctrines of the fathers on the principal elements of Christianity ; the manual of Krüger represents non-Catholic science and interest, while that of Cruttwell is an attempt at conveying to English readers some notion of the personality and literary qualities of the men who expounded and defended Christianity while Homer and Virgil were yet the tutelary deities of the schools, and monotheism and ethnocism were struggling in that momentous duel in which the fundamental issue was the liberty of conscience, the right to worship God as the enlightened reason dictated, and not as the social authority provided. All these manuals or larger catechisms of early Christian literature have each its own character and usefulness, even as Möhler's unfinished Patrology retains yet, after half a century, its own charm and value, an orderly exposition of the material and a sure insight into the circumstances, internal and external, that conditioned the writings of the great fathers of the first three centuries. Would that this patrology of Bardenhewer were translated and offered to our studious clerical youth in suitable style and typographical dress ! It would go far toward awakening a personal and living love of theology, instead of the professional and mechanical devotion that too often carries the theological student through the years of his training for the altar. This

is too easily dropped when he reaches a field of individual independent labor, where his pent-up activity may find free play, but where, alas! material pre-occupations, cares and distractions are so numerous, so attractive, so overwhelming that few minds resist their impact, and remain faithful to the high ideal of profound and elegant scholarship, "ut veritas pateat, placeat, moveat."

Why is it that in our seminaries the systematic teaching of patrology is so rare? Its more profound and more special development may be left to the University, but the modern student of theology is incapable of appreciating properly his text-books of Church doctrine unless he knows something about the origin and transmission of the evidences on which that doctrine is based. Catholic patrology has been making noteworthy advance within a generation, and it is high time that the fruits of these critical and positive labors should be made the common property of all ecclesiastics. In non-Catholic quarters the scientific advance in this science is only too remarkable. The names of Harnack and Lipsius and Lightfoot resound now in men's ears, as formerly did those of Mabillon and Ruinart and Montfaucon. We have, it is true, such names as Funk and Bardenhewer and Duchesne, such learned men as the Bollandists, and the Benedictines of Maredsous,—but we want something more. We need the establishment of a preliminary course of patrology in every theological seminary. For the present, the Latin manual of Fessler-Jungmann might serve as a basis or a text. The general interest now bestowed on the first centuries of Christian development no longer permits the young priest to be ignorant of the Christian literature of the times, even if it did not offer in itself one of the most consoling and instructive pages of ecclesiastical history. In conclusion, let the weighty opinions of two learned theologians, one an Anglican, the other a Catholic, be heard: "Ye who are devoting yourselves to the divine study of theology; ye who are growing pale over the Sacred Scriptures above all; ye who already occupy the venerable office of the priest, or aspire to do so; ye who are about to undertake the awful care of souls; put away from you the taste of the times; have nothing to do with the novelties that are in vogue; search

how it was in the beginning ; go to the fountain-head ; look to antiquity ; return to the reverend Fathers ; have respect unto the Primitive Church ; that is, to use the words of the prophet I am handling ; ask for the old paths (Jer. VI, 16).¹

In the same strain speaks a learned Dominican of the sixteenth century : *Viri omnes docti consentiunt, rudes omnino theologos esse, in quorum lucubrationibus historia muta est. Mihi quidem non theologi solum, sed nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus res olim gestae ignotae sunt. Multa enim nobis e thesauris suis historia suppeditat, quibus si careamus, et in theologia et in quacumque ferme alia facultate inopes saepenumero et in docti reperiemur.*²

Outlines of Jewish History, from Abraham to Our Lord, by the Rev. Francis Gigot, SS., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. John's Seminary, Boston. New York: Benziger, 1897; pp. 384, 8°. \$1.50.

The author of this manual of Jewish history has prepared it "for the special use of theological students," as an introduction to the *scientific* study of Holy Writ, and a more accurate and thorough knowledge of the history of the Jews. For this purpose he tells us that he "has embodied concisely in this work the best ascertained results of modern criticism and recent explorations through Bible Lands, and has availed himself of every source of information to make Jewish history at once more intelligible and attractive." The apologetic uses of this study are also insisted on, and the sources of information are communicated to the student.

The work falls into three parts,—the Patriarchal, the Tribal, and the Royal Age,—which are treated in thirty chapters. By the use of strongly accentuated paragraphs and guide-words, the chief events, places and persons are brought out boldly. A synopsis follows each chapter, and a lengthy index renders the book serviceable. It has the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Boston, hence its doctrine may be taken as correct in important matters and its introduction recommended to colleges and seminaries. Indeed, it ought to be in the

¹Bishop Pearson, Minor Theological Works, II, 6.

²Melchior Canus, De locis theologicis, XI, 2.

library of every family which loves to know something of the Bible, for this work may serve as an excellent historical commentary to its various books. The style is plain and sober, as befits such a book, and the author's erudition is set forth with a certain reserve called for by the character of his book, but which gives earnest of wider knowledge in store for commentary or digression.

We would like to suggest the insertion of maps in a future edition. As students cannot buy many books, such a manual ought to be a *vade-mecum*. Maps and plans of important monuments or sites would greatly enhance the value of the work. Moreover, the volume should be illustrated, so that the student would have some idea of the important antiquities of the Jews,—monuments that are part and parcel of their history and their institutions. The sources and references would be better off at the foot of each page, and in smaller type, than in the body of the text. It would be well also to introduce a select bibliography, under suitable rubrics, with a brief line or two of appreciation of each work cited. The student would then know something about the range of mental activity in this important science, and would have a reliable guide in the selection of a little library in case his tastes led him to follow up the impulses awakened by this useful introduction. With these additions the work of Father Gigot will be a permanent addition to the list of our theological manuals, all too small a list in the English tongue, a fact that is largely responsible for a certain lack of interest in theological science as compared with other nations.

A History of American Christianity, by Leonard Woolsey Bacon.
New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897, pp. 429, 8°.

It is surely no small task to put into less than five hundred pages the story of every organized form of Christianity on American soil within the last four centuries. This has been attempted by Dr. Bacon, and with considerable success,—he has even found place for brief comment and criticism as he unfolds this wonderful panorama of religious life, at every step so like and so unlike the story of Christianity in the Old

World. The introductory chapters deal with the original Catholic missions of Spain and France, from which the author passes to the description of the Puritans in Virginia, Religion in Maryland and the Carolinas, Dutch Calvinists and Swedish Lutherans, the Church in New England, The Middle Colonies and Georgia, the Great Awakening,—through Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield,—and the Close of the Colonial Era. The second half of the work is taken up with the history of Christianity in the United States during the present century, under the headings of Reconstruction, The Second Awakening, Organized Beneficence, Conflicts with Public Wrongs, A Decade of Controversies and Schisms, The Great Immigration, The Civil War, After the Civil War, The Church in Theology and Literature, and Tendencies toward a Manifestation of Unity.

Dr. Bacon is a learned and liberal Congregationalist, and in this book has justified the esteem in which he has been rightly held, for it gives evidence of a religious and conscientious spirit, and of a willingness to mete out its due to truth, even when it may be unpalatable to those of his own communism. We cannot expect him to assume the Roman Catholic view-point in controverted matters. But we can gladly acknowledge his very fair treatment of the Roman Catholic missions in Maryland, his acknowledgment of the personal devotion of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, his sympathetic account of the sufferings of Roman Catholics in the Know-Nothing period. Dr. Bacon takes a lively interest in the internal development of American Catholicism, and while we would not like to subscribe to some of his judgments, we may call attention to the sobriety and the kindness with which they are put forward and to the principle of citing responsible Roman Catholic authorities for his statements. We may differ profoundly on many points, but literary charity and courtesy can only tend to widen that mental commons on which we may one day meet in apostolic faith, hope, and love.
Faxit Deus!

LITERATURE.

"Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern."

Charles Dudley Warner, editor, assisted by Hamilton Wright Mabie, Lucia Gilbert Runkle and George H. Warner. In thirty volumes, quarto. New York: R. S. Peake and J. A. Hill, 1898.

The content of these thirty volumes, admirably printed, is veiled by a popular title; doubtless, as they are intended to appeal to English-speaking readers, this eye-catching title is excusable. But this enormous work is really an introduction to the comparative study of the literature of all languages translated into English. It has one great merit; it places within the reach of students specimens of the work of those writers that have influenced the epochs, and its influence is to stimulate the reader to researches on his own account. Primarily, it does not appeal to scholars, though it is largely the work of scholarly experts; it is intended to meet the demands of that large and constantly increasing class,—example of a transitional state of education,—which asks to be saved the time and trouble of collecting a library for itself or of reading many books. Judged from this point of view, the "Library of the World's Best Literature" is without a rival.

It is evident that a certain change of plan took place in the work after its reception. The intention, in the beginning, was plainly to secure as contributors those specialists whose reputation made them seem to be masters of any one subject in the world of letters, and to give them free hands. But, if this had been carried out, it would have meant that each volume should be consecrated to one man, epoch, or movement; for, in questions of history,—and biographical analyses of authors are essentially historical,—counter-opinion, as well as opinion, must be considered. Again, there is no dogma in the world of letters, except as regards the greatness of the very great; but there are canons drawn from the agreement of critics as to the causes of high quality. A man who disputes the place of Dante is amusing or absurd; but he who insists that May Louise Alcott deserves a tabouret in the presence of George Eliot and Miss Austen and in the absence of so many other sisters of letters puts his reputation in danger. The admirers

of Edme Champion may hold up their hands in horror at the selection of John Morley as an authority on Voltaire ; but, were Joseph de Maistre alive, he would denounce the editor who would permit either Morley or Champion to find anything extenuating in Voltaire's attitude. There are three horns to this dilemma. Again, the selection of a Catholic specialist to write on St. Thomas Aquinas passes without question from anybody ; the Angelic Doctor is looked on as the special property of Catholics ; but, if a Catholic had been asked to interpret Calvin, there would have been the same kind of criticism that has met Professor Davidson's one-sided appreciation of Abelard. Nobody objects to R. H. Hutton's Newman, but, if Mr. Purcell had accepted an invitation to portray Manning, the air would have been shaken by outcries. In looking over these volumes, one feels that the editor was very brave or blissfully ignorant of the dangers before him. It is plain now that he trusted in the great mass of people who, recognizing so much good, would, as Chaucer begs his readers to do, be satisfied to pass over the things they esteemed evil ; the popular success of the work shows that he did not trust in vain. The choosing of Canon Farrar for the article on the literary value of the Bible was a risky thing, for Canon Farrar is not grateful to the vast army of habitual readers of the King James version, but there can be no doubt that the Canon was selected with excellent intention, though the choice has brought Mr. Warner's volumes into disrepute with certain dissenters.

As the work proceeds, Mr. Warner grows more conservative. As he approaches the "Z's",—in which the fatal word Zola occurs,—he keeps his eyes wide open for the presentation of good ethics ; and, when he really comes to Zola, he allows no modern literary tolerance of "frankness" or "naturalism" to bend him to the essential evil of the school of which that author is both the master and the sole obedient pupil. There are certain articles,—for instance, parts of the "D' Azeglio" paper, the "Notes on Erasmus," and other passages in the entire volumes that we would like to see revised, and which justly give offence ; but there are very many other articles so complete, so incisive, sympathetic, and scholarly that we shall demand no instant tearing up of the tares lest some of the good wheat

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might go with them. "The World's Best Literature" is, even as it stands,—ideal,—is the best manual for the study in English of comparative literature yet given to the general public.

New Rubáiyát, by Condé Benoist Pallen. B. Herder, St. Louis, 1898. 16mo., pp. 62.

Mr. Pallen offers in these verses an antidote to the epicurean quatrains of Omar Khayyám (d. 1123), the Persian poet whom Edward Fitzgerald has done into such elegant English. This mystico-pantheist is sometimes called the Voltaire of the Orient, and again it is said of him that there is a touch of Byron, Swinburne, and Schopenhauer in all that he writes. Certain it is that his brilliant epigrams are "the breviary of a radical freethinker who protests in the most forcible manner both against the narrowness, bigotry, and uncompromising austerity of the orthodox Ulemas and the eccentricity, hypocrisy, and wild ravings of advanced Súfis." Omar is a subtle and fascinating rhapsodist, whose "purity of diction, fine art, and crushing satire" have endowed with poetic immortality the five hundred epigrams in praise of wine, love, and all earthly joys that he found time to write in the intervals of relaxation from his favorite studies of mathematics and astronomy. He is pyrrhonist, epicurean, agnostic, a flaunter of all the dwellers

"In this battered Caravanserai
Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day."

To him nothing is sacred, permanent, or certain. All life is a multitudinous phantasmagoria, a hopeless flitting of shadows and seemings.

Oh, come with old Khayyám, and leave the Wise
To talk ; one thing is certain, that Life flies ;
One thing is certain, and the Rest is lies ;
The Flower that once has blown for ever dies.

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great Argument
About it and about ; but evermore
Came out by the same Door as in I went.

Mr. Pallen embodies in similarly lilting verse the Christian doctrine of faith and hope, a sane and cheery optimism. More than once he has caught a spark of Omaresque fire and grace,

as in "the piping fife of change (p. 8), "the cryptic sweetness of the living vine" (p. 10), the "interstellar spaces ringing clear" (p. 35). As a rule the verse runs smooth and even,—only this lilting epigrammatic strophe is scarcely the medium for correct didactic views. In its irregular halting music there is something defiant and fierce that seems to challenge, a kind of outlaw's cry that sets fixed order at naught. Fitzgerald has dressed this fantastic Persian gipsy in an English garment no less bizarre and *bariolé* than its Iranian garb. He has given it cap and bells; henceforth it is unique in the procession of Merry-Andrews that moves across the stage of literature, worldly-wise at once and scurrilous, philosopher and charlatan, preacher and actor,—a finished pantomorph of satire, who invites all men to

"Leave the Wise to wrangle, and with me
The Quarrel of the Universe let be;
And in some corner of the Hubbub coucht,
Make Game of that which makes as much of Thee."

What a pity that the author of "The Wail and Warning of the Three Khalendeers" did not turn his mystic, dreamy genius to the paraphrasing of Omar!

This pretty and useful little volume is defaced by some bad misprints: "screed" for "creed" (p. 3), and "feetly" for "featly" (p. 6). The verses make excellent reading for that too numerous class of souls who are pessimistically minded.

Literature and the Church, by Rev. John F. Mullany, LL. D., with preface by Most Rev. William Henry Elder, D. D., Syracuse. N. Y.: Azarias Reading Circle, 1898. 16mo., pp. 95.

In a preparatory note, the author tells us that these lectures, delivered originally at the Second Session of the Winter School at New Orleans are meant to show that literature, no matter how powerful, can never become a substitute for religion. "Literature is an educator—and under certain conditions it may reflect religion—but it behooves us to guard against the delusion that any reflection of religion is religion itself." Elsewhere (p. 61) he quotes approvingly from Cardinal Newman: "Many a man will live and die upon a dogma; no man will be a martyr for a conclusion. This is why a literary

religion is so little to be depended upon ; it looks well in fair weather ; but its doctrines are opinions, and when called upon to suffer for them, it slips them between its folios, or burns them at its hearth."

From this point of view the writer treats briefly several of the poets, romancers, and literary philosophers of the last hundred years—Browning, Tennyson, Longfellow, George Eliot, Cardinal Newman, Comte, Spencer, Kant, Hegel, Tolstoi and Rousseau. In literary judgment and sympathy he shares the average views of impartial critics as to these famous names, but does not fail to judge them independently from the point of view of a Catholic and an ecclesiastic. He rightly believes that form can never make up for lack of substance, and that the soul which trusts its happiness to the beautiful in letters will one day necessarily learn the insufficiency thereof. Short essays on Christian Dogma, the Character of the Church, and the Church our Guide, complete the treatment of the subject. They furnish the reader with a succinct and pleasing view of the proper attitude of the Christian soul toward a literature that grows ever more perfect and varied, but also ever more seductive and tempting.

MISCELLANEOUS.

L'Americanismo politico e religioso, quale venne inteso dal P. Hecker. Discorso letto al Congresso internazionale dei dotti cattolici a Friburgo il 20 agosto, 1897 da Mons. D. J. O'Connell, Prelato domestico di S. Santità e già Rettore del Collegio Americano di Roma. Versione dall'inglese di Lorenzo Salazar-Sarsfield con prefazione di Alfredo Capece Minutolo di Bugnano. Napoli, 1898, pp. 20, 8°.

This discourse of Mgr. Denis O'Connell, delivered before the International Scientific Congress of Catholics, held at Friburg in Switzerland last August, has been making the tour of Europe. Already it has had the honor of a French translation, and now it appears in Italian, being thus made accessible to many millions of Catholics who are likely to be interested by its contents. The discourse contained little that was original, being actuated by the desire to bring before the Congress the po-

litico-religious situation of the United States, as it appeared to an eminent observer and laborer in the Catholic Church of that land. All minor points aside, what most contributes to the development of the American Church is its unhampered liberty. Thereby it grows; every domestic energy has an honest chance of development, there being no restraint nor curb from the social authority. On the contrary, the Catholic Church in most continental lands is suffering chiefly from lack of liberty, being bound in the toils of a suspicious imperialism that fears to shed blood, but yet slowly chokes its victim against the walls of its prison. As a fact, the Church in America is making undeniable progress. As a fact, the churches on the mainland of Europe profess themselves to be in a deplorable condition. Liberty is the atmosphere of any perfect society, and therefore it is the first, the only indispensable, prerequisite for the growth of the Christian idea. Christianity has adapted itself to many forms of political life with more or less ease. But it has always suffered a withering or a retrenchment of its powers for good where it was refused that easy and comfortable expansion which its nature and its history demand. The absence in the American Constitution of the blighting germ of Roman imperialism and a minimum of statolatry in our history cause our religious conditions to approximate, in some degree, to certain periods of the Middle Ages, when all the forces of the human intellect and all the energies of religion developed *pari passu*, and for a while the spirit of peace and concord was dominant throughout Europe. If the Church in Europe enjoyed the liberty of the Church in America what an *élan* of religious life there would be! With what eagerness the deceived and abused populations would again take up the truly progressive principles and lines of Catholicism! What a balance there would be against the narrow, destructive forces of selfishness and materialism! No wonder that the men of Europe are watching with eagerness the growth of those conditions which have permitted the establishment, within two generations, of a hundred dioceses, the building of innumerable churches, the flourishing of a hundred forms of corporate religious life, the acquisition of many hundred millions of property, subject only to such civil control or interference as the

ordinary citizen is subject to! If the Italian or the French Catholics had this real liberty can we doubt that these old historic churches would again rise to their opportunities and astonish mankind with their works of beneficence?

O'Connell. Panegyric by the Most Rev. John J. Keane, D. D., Archbishop of Damascus, in the Church of the Irish College, Rome, May 15, 1897, being the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the immortal Liberator. Dublin: O'Brien & Ards, 1897. 8°, pp. 31.

With characteristic unction and eloquence, Archbishop Keane put before his hearers, last May, a life-sketch of Daniel O'Connell, in which the great events of his life were made to give up the providential purposes of God in dealing with this chosen man. Though the peculiar character of the spoken words of the Archbishop is absent from these pages, yet they convey to the reader a fair notion of the purposes and plans of one who was truly a Moses to his people,—who led them out of religious bondage, taught them the meaning and the power of unity, and died, the typical and logical Irish Kelt, as he has been moulded by the influences of a secular Catholicism. The nineteenth century is fast waning, and many of its stars are already below the horizon. But O'Connell will long shine in the national and racial heaven, a bright particular orb. Even his legend, when it is woven, will make for justice, sobriety, peace, true manhood, just as his history sums up the pleadings and the struggles of a hundred conquered and abused peoples.

A Glimpse of Organic Life, past and present, by William Seton, LL.D. New York: P. O'Shea, 1897; pp. 135, 8°.

This little volume is meant to interest youth in the great book of nature that lies outspread before the eyes of all. By means of a pleasing dialogue between a professor and his pupil it brings out the chief truths and facts of geology and zoology, accompanying them with explanations worthy of a serious and a Christian mind. Several illustrations, chiefly of the great extinct mammals, enliven the text. The spirit and scope of the work are made plain in the preface by a passage from Sir William Thompson's presidential address to the British Asso-

ciation (Edinburgh, 1871): "Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent design lie all around us, and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from these for a time, they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing to us through nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living beings depend upon one ever-acting Creator and Ruler." The little book deserves to be put into the hands of all children who are acquiring the rudiments of geology, zoology, or anthropology, for it contains the antidote to certain grave errors or hasty assumptions.

Socialistes Anglais. par Pierre Verhaegen. Gand, 1898, pp. 374.

This work is a dissertation for the doctorate presented to the School of Political and Social Sciences of the University of Louvain.

In the twelve chapters of the book, the author aims to give an objective description of the origin and actual condition of socialistic thought and movement in England among professed socialists, Christian socialists and trades unions. A considerable portion of the work is devoted to communism, anarchy, land nationalization and municipal socialism. The impressions of the author are summarized in a concluding chapter.

The work is based on original sources throughout. It shows the author to be well acquainted not only with the literature but also with the leaders in the movement described. The text is frequently made up from conversations between the writer and the socialist leaders. We know nothing else in French which contains a like amount of reliable information on the subject; hence we can cordially welcome the book as one of real value.

However, the impression grows, while we read, that there is a lack of lucidity in the exposition; it would seem that the author had not thoroughly mastered the rich abundance of material at his command. This is due perhaps in a large measure to the complex nature of the movement; so complex that it does not lend itself readily to an orderly exposition. The author wisely calls attention to this in his conclusion (p. 353): "Les divergences ou mieux l'antagonisme entre les diverses catégories des socialistes anglais sont tels, qu'on est tenté de

se demander si ce n'est pas en vain que l'on chercherait dans cette étude des points de repère qui en facilitent la conclusion. De fait, l'organisation complexe du mouvement socialiste anglais n'est pas de celles qu'on qualifie d'un mot : même nous ne croyons pas qu'on puisse découvrir une tendance générale dans les aspirations des divers groupes ou dans la marche qu'ils ont suivie jusque'ici."

It is hardly true, as the author states (p. 301, note), that the theories of Henry George have lost all credit in the United States, though certainly they have not greatly affected the thought or the politics of the country. The death of George took place October 29, and not in September, as is stated (p. 306).

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

FREDERICK WILLIAM PELLY.

Mr. Frederick W. Pelly, assistant professor of Roman Law and Political History in the University, died of pulmonary consumption on February 17, 1898, aged 44 years. Mr. Pelly was born in England, and came of good family, being nearly related to the late Canon Rawlinson, the historian, and to Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Assyriologist; to Sir John Henry Pelly, recently Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to Lieut.-Gen. Sir Lewis Pelly, of the East Indian Service. Mr. Pelly was educated at the University of Edinburgh and at Oxford, receiving from the latter his Baccalaureate degree. Soon after his graduation he took orders in the Anglican Church and was appointed Master of Chigwell School. He afterwards pursued his studies at Paris and in the University of Heidelberg. After a short service as curate in the vicinity of London, he removed to Canada and was engaged in the establishment of St. John's College at Qu'Appelle, Assinaboa. At the same time he was public examiner for the Northwest Territory, and, with the head of the Catholic Indian School in Manitoba for his co-worker, drew up the examination code on the dual basis. He was also a lecturer in the diocesan seminary of Manitoba. Returning to England he entered the employment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and labored as a missionary in various parts of the country, finally settling in the parish of Walter-Belchamp. Becoming involved in the great strikes of 1889, as an ardent advocate of the labor interest, his position in his parish was gradually rendered untenable, and he once more crossed the Atlantic, and after a few months was appointed rector of St. Andrew's Church in Greenville, Conn. Here the doubts which he had long entertained as to the soundness of the claims of the Anglican communion, culminated in a conviction of the truth of those of the Roman Church, and without hesitation, and at the cost of all this

world had given him or could offer him, he followed the dictates of his conscience and made his submission to the Catholic Church in February, 1896. Shortly after this event he was invited to the University, and until his death was engaged in conducting classes in Institutional History and Roman Law. Mr. Pelly was a man of extraordinary devotion to study and indefatigable in his efforts for his pupils. Even when unable to leave his home he carried on his work in his room, and but an hour or two before his decease was busied with the preparation of material for his students. He was a man of singular modesty and self-forgetfulness, of unassuming piety, and accepted alike his trials and his blessings as the gift of God. His widow, the daughter of Sir George Strong Nares, the famous Arctic explorer, and three children have decided to return to England.

The Rt. Rev. Rector.—The Catholic Winter School at New Orleans has finished its session for this year, and, from the numerous flattering accounts, has been more than usually successful. The newly appointed Archbishop, Most Rev. P. L. Chapelle, gave a great impetus to the movement by a remarkably powerful sermon at the opening ceremony, Sunday, January 20, and his constant and enthusiastic co-operation with the trustees contributed largely to their success. The Rt. Rev. Rector of the University, Mgr. Conaty, was a prominent figure at the School, having been invited to deliver five lectures on the subject of "Education." His topics were: "The Church in Education;" "The Demands of the Modern Spirit in Education;" "The Answer of the Church to the Modern Spirit;" "The Keltic Influence in English Literature;" "Catholic Women and Education." He also preached in St. Patrick's Church, Sunday, January 27, on "The Church and the University Movement." Large audiences greeted him, and on all sides manifestations of delight were heard as he eloquently portrayed the work of the Church in the educational movements. A very pleasant incident of his visit was the reception tendered to him by the admiral of the French warship Le Dubourdieu and the commander of the Austrian schoolship Donau, which were in the harbor. All the courtesies of the navy were

extended to him, and each ship gave him the naval salute of nine guns as he was leaving it. Mgr. Conaty experienced the full meaning of a generous Southern welcome at the hands of the people of New Orleans, and was delighted with his visit to the most interesting and important city of the South.

The Schools of Law.—The redistribution of the schools of the University, for the purpose of bringing under the direction of the Faculty of Philosophy all those departments whose courses of study lead to the degree of Ph. D., has also resulted in giving, for the first time, to the Faculty of Law a distinct existence, and has enabled that Faculty to realize the original design of maintaining separate Schools of Law for professional training and for higher legal education. This separation marks a great advance in the development of the University. The establishment of a School of Law for the education of jurists, as distinguished from practitioners, was in the minds of the founders of the University from the beginning, and the introduction of purely professional courses was determined on merely as a means to the full though gradual accomplishment of that design. The endowment of the chair of Roman Law, through the munificence of the late Patrick B. O'Brien, of New Orleans, and the present severance of other departments from those of the law, have given to the Faculty the power, much earlier than they had dared to hope, to complete their permanent organization, and inaugurate two independent schools—the Professional School of Law, and the University School of Law. Persons interested in the subject of legal education can obtain the circular presenting these features in detail by addressing the Dean of the Law Faculty.

University Club Reception.—The University Club gave a literary entertainment in honor of St. Thomas, on March 10th, in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall. The chief feature was a paper on "St. Thomas and Dante," read by Rev. John Sullivan. He showed that the great poet of the Catholic Church drew much of his inspiration and all his philosophy from the writings of the Angel of the Schools. Dante's poetry is the allegory of human life, depicting the various stages of the soul's journey, through sin and conflict, back to God, its end and beatitude. In the allegory Inferno is the state of Sin,

Purgatory is Penance, Paradise is the state of Grace. There we have the grand conception which is the key to the Summa —*Reductio hominis in Deum principium et finem*. With all the wealth of his matchless imagination and exquisite beauty of language, Dante sets forth the principles and arguments which St. Thomas lays down with the severe accuracy of the theologian and philosopher. After the programme was finished the club received the guests in the General Library, which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion.

Public Lectures—Spring Course.—The following public lectures were delivered Thursdays at 4.30 P. M. in Assembly Hall:

January 37.—“How We See.” Very Rev. E. A. Pace, D. D.
February 3.—“Illusions of Sight.” Very Rev. E. A. Pace, D. D.
February 10.—“The Closet Drama.” Maurice Francis Egan, Ph. D.
February 17.—“The Acting Play.” Maurice Francis Egan, Ph. D.
February 24.—“George Washington.” Hon. S. R. Mallory, United States Senator from Florida.
March 3.—“Writing and Miniature in the Early Keltic MSS.” Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D.
March 10.—“Decorative Art in the Early Keltic Church.” Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D.
March 17.—“Two Centuries of Economic Progress.” Charles P. Neill, Ph. D.
March 24.—“Electrical Waves,” Illustrated by Tesla, High Frequency Phenomena, Hertsian Waves, and Marconi Wireless Telegraphy. Daniel W. Shea, Ph. D.

Feast of St. Thomas.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy was duly observed on March 7. Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the Rt. Rev. Alfred Curtis, assisted by the students of the Divinity School and of the affiliated colleges. The discourse was delivered by Rev. Dr. Shanahan. He dwelt particularly on the position of St. Thomas in the history of thought—a powerful mind molded to a great extent by its mediæval environment and reacting still more effectively upon that environment.

Conference of M. René Doumic.—On Saturday, March 27, M. René Doumic, of Paris, Professor at the Collège St. Stanislas, and co-laborer of M. Brunetière, delivered in French an excellent conference on “French Society and French Literature.” The Assembly Hall was crowded with the élite of Washington society, and all went away charmed with the exquisite diction

of the distinguished speaker and pleased by the skill with which he showed French society to be better than the literature which pretends to depict it.

Lectures by Dr. Pace.—On the Saturdays of February and March, Dr. Pace gave a course in Psychology at the Cathedral Library University Extension Centre in New York City. The lectures were chiefly intended for teachers who are preparing to pass the Regents' examination. The subjects were selected in such a way as to present the more important methods and results of modern Psychology, and to indicate their philosophic bearings.

Pittonia.—The latest number of "Pittonia" (Vol. III, No. 18) has just been issued by Professor Edward L. Greene. Its contents are: New or Noteworthy Species, XXI. Studies in the Compositæ, VII—Some Helenoid Genera; Some Northern Species of Antennaria; Some Southwestern Species of Antennaria; A New Genus of the Senecionideæ; Some Western Species of Erigeron; Miscellaneous New Species. Some Western Polemoniaceæ. New or Noteworthy Species, XXII.

The Baccalaureate Examinations in Theology.—Eleven Theological students have successfully passed the examination for the degree of Bachelor in Theology. This examination, which is both oral and written, includes a review of all the studies made during the seminary course of Theology, together with an elementary knowledge of Hebrew.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—The feast of the Faculty of Theology was duly celebrated on January 25. Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in the University Chapel by the Apostolic Delegate, and Very Rev. Dr. Bouquillon delivered a discourse on St. Paul.

Bequest of \$2,000.—By the will of Miss Mary Quincy of Boston, the University receives a legacy of two thousand dollars. During life Miss Quincy was a warm friend of the University, and the prayers of its professors and students will follow her after death.

Spiritual Retreat.—A spiritual retreat for all the students of the University, ecclesiastical and lay, was given March 27-31. Rev. Michael P. Smith, C. S. P., conducted the exercises, which were well attended.